

4

4

---

VOL. V.

July, 1911.

NO. 4.

---

MISSOURI  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW.

---



PUBLISHED BY  
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
OF MISSOURI

---

P. A. RAMPSON, Secretary,  
EDITOR.

---

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$1.00 PER YEAR  
ISSUED QUARTERLY.

---

COLUMBIA, MO.

---

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MAIL MATTER, AT COLUMBIA, MO., JULY 29, 1907.

# MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

EDITOR

FRANCIS A. BAMSPON.

Committee on Publication:

JONAS VILES, ISIDOR LOEB, F. A. BAMSPON.

VOL. V.

JULY, 1911.

NO. 4.

## CONTENTS.

Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804, by Dr. J. Viles	180
The Capture of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781, by Prof. Frederick J. Teggart	214
Christ Church Parish, Boonville, by Capt. S. W. Ravenel	220
Livingston County, Missouri, by L. T. Collier	238
Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, Fourth Paper	242
Book Notices	245
Notes	250
Necrology	252







# MISSOURI

## HISTORICAL REVIEW.

---

VOL. 5.

JULY, 1911.

NO. 4.

---

### POPULATION AND EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI BEFORE 1804.

The starting point for this attempt to determine as far as may be the number of inhabitants and the extent of settled area in Missouri during the French and Spanish periods, is a desire to test the accuracy of the statements and descriptions for 1804, made by Major Amos Stoddard in his "Sketches of Louisiana." As the official census returns after 1800 have for the most part disappeared, the only available method of criticism seems to be an examination of the source material on population and extent of settlement from the beginning and a comparison of the picture thus built up with the formal description of Stoddard,—the ultimate purpose being to determine extent of settlement at the opening of the American Regime. The sources of information are abundant but as yet so unorganized that the extraction of definite facts is difficult. The official census returns of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis are invaluable, but they are incomplete or altogether lacking for a considerable part of the period. Most of them are preserved in the Spanish Archives and are to be found, in translation, in Houck, "The Spanish Regime in Missouri," or scattered through the secondary works. These statistics might be supplemented and the actual area of settlement determined with remarkable accuracy from the mass of papers in regard to Spanish Land Grants preserved at Jefferson City, or in the records of the local Spanish officials now deposited with the Missouri Historical Society or belonging to the City of St.

Louis. However, these mines of information are unworked as yet, with one notable exception; Mr. Houck in his "History of Missouri" has founded his discussion of the extent of settlement directly on this material. As far as this discussion goes, it is invaluable. Mention should be made also of the local sources for St. Louis published by Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis in its Earliest Days" and in foot notes to Scharf, "History of St. Louis," and of "The History of Southeast Missouri," a collection of county histories of unusual value. (1) This article is based, except for the census of 1787, entirely on published material.

As this material is organized under the local administrative divisions or districts, and as these districts correspond fairly well with the natural divisions, it will be more profitable to discuss each district in detail. The lack of accurately defined boundary lines and of any certainty as to governmental relations between the districts causes little difficulty in the present discussion, as it is usually easy to determine within which district any particular settlement was located. The factors determining immigration and spread of settlement will demand some discussion, but the most important questions will be how many settlers were there in Upper Louisiana during the Spanish Period and where did they locate.

#### **New Madrid.**

Following the track of Stoddard and approaching Missouri from the south the first district one reached in 1804 was New Madrid. (2) The southern limit of settlement was about the present southeastern boundary of the state, at Little Prairie, the present Caruthersville; the northern, the settlements in Tywappity bottom, at approximately the present northern boundary of Mississippi County.

Canadian hunters and fur traders made L'Ainse a la

1. The confirmed Spanish land grants are given with seeming accuracy on the Higgins map of Missouri. It must be remembered that a land grant did not necessarily imply permanent settlement.

2. The discussion of early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck; Missouri, II, 103-166.

Graisse (the site of the present New Madrid) their head quarters soon after 1780, and a few in 1786 and 1787 settled there permanently. In 1789 a village was elaborately laid out on an extensive scale as an American colony by General Morgan. This is not the place to discuss this ambitious project, its relation with the Spanish intrigues in Kentucky, and its failure largely through the interference of the notorious Wilkinson, but Morgan's ill-fated attempt resulted in the ultimate settlement of a number of Americans. To provide for the government of the new comers, a commandant and a small Spanish garrison were despatched from New Orleans in 1789, thus opening the new district to regular settlement.

The settlements in New Madrid were all to be found in a rich alluvial plain, bounded on the north by a line almost due southwest from the town of Cape Girardeau, which is the northwest extremity of the Mississippi lowlands. The only elevations in the district are Cayley's Ridge and the Scott County "hills," low ridges of varying width from 5 to 19 miles from the northwestern highlands. This elevation had little importance in determining settlement during the Spanish Period. Much of the land to the eastward was poorly drained and subject to overflow. The marshy portion was covered with a thick growth of cane and timber, the dryer land was covered with open groves of large trees. While the soil was extremely fertile, the district was preeminently a game country. The settlements were determined in part by hunting and the Indian trade, and later after the coming of the American farmers, by the drainage and by means of communication. In 1804 the settlements with one important exception were within a few miles of the Mississippi. This strip of settled country began just above the village of New Madrid and extended to Little Prairie, with an outlying trading station on the St. Francois, the present Portageville. The inhabitants were of both nationalities, but the French predominated, though to a less degree in the village and immediate vicinity. North of the village the banks of the Mississippi were too subject to overflow to attract settlers as far as Bird's Point at the mouth of the Ohio and



Tywappity bottom just beyond. The settlers here were exclusively Americans and had taken up some scattering farms perhaps ten or fifteen miles from the Mississippi. The scattered settlements in the low lands along the river north of Tywappity seem to have been attached to Cape Girardeau. The important inland settlement was on Big Prairie, a long narrow and very slightly elevated ridge stretching northward from the village of New Madrid as far as the present Sikeston in Scott County. The excellent drainage and the fact that the King's Highway to Cape Girardeau and St. Louis followed this ridge attracted a considerable number of settlers, American, except some at the southern end.

Until 1796, the date of the first census which has been preserved, the chief sources of information as to the actual number of settlers in the New Madrid districts are the list of names of those taking the oath of allegiance or fidelity and several entries in the inventories of the archives of the district, giving the total number of oaths on file. On April 26, 1791, the commandant prepared a more elaborate report of the settlers coming since the beginning of that year, with information as to place of origin and size of families. This information is gathered together in the following tables.

NEW MADRID DISTRICT—OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE, 1789-1796.

NAMES				INDICES IN ARCHIVES
Year	Dates Recorded	Number	Americans	Number of Names
1789 <sup>1</sup>	November 30	14	14	
1791 <sup>2</sup>	Jan. 1-April 26	78	4	
	Nov. 30, 1789-April 13, 1791 <sup>3</sup>			129
1793 <sup>4</sup>	April-Dec. (10 entries)	29	12	
1794 <sup>5</sup>	Jan.-Dec. (20 entries)	52	26	
1795 <sup>6</sup>	Jan.-Dec. (17 entries)	70	46	
1796 <sup>7</sup>	Feb. 3-June 12, 18	12	12	
	July 21, 1791-May 31, 1796 <sup>8</sup>			343
		255	114	472

1. Houck, Spanish Regime I 319.

2. Id. I 327-331.

3. Id. II 278-279.

4. Id. I 334-336.

5. Id. I 336-337.

6. Id. I 320, 337-338.

7. Id. I 320.

8. Id. II 275.

NEW SETTLERS, JANUARY 1—APRIL 30, 1791.

Number of Names	Americans	Men <sup>9</sup>	Women	Children	Single	Total Persons
78	4	33(34) <sup>10</sup>	34(33)	110	43	192(217) <sup>11</sup>

9. i. e., Married men.

10. Correct totals in parenthesis.

11. Three widowers are entered both as "men" and "single."

It must be confessed that these tables are unsatisfactory as evidence for the number of actual settlers at any given date. They represent, apparently, heads of families who entered Spanish territory at New Madrid, whether they settled in that district or went on. The indices which are presumably reasonably accurate and complete are given for only two dates, covering in each case a considerable period. The lists of names are obviously incomplete, their total to June 18, 1796, being 255 while the index total May 31 is 472. The correct total for the number of persons in the report of 1791 seems to be 217, after eliminating three cases of obvious duplication. In this report the legends showing "whence they came" are so arranged in the printed transcript that it is difficult to determine to just what names they apply.

However, a careful examination of the evidence reveals some information. Evidently the minimum number of American settlers on November 30, 1789, was 14, the residue of Morgan's expedition. If the thirteen days from April 13 to April 26, 1791, be ignored, 37 oaths were recorded between November 30, 1789, and January 1, 1791. There are no lists of names from April 26, 1791, to April 7, 1793; it seems fair to assume that the 180 oaths, the remainder of the difference between the list and index totals, belong in these two years. If this assumption be admitted, 258 names belong between January 1, 1791, and April 7, 1793, that is, more than half of the total before June, 1796. As to place of origin of the settlers of 1791 the most reasonable interpretation of the legend seems to be that 68 families and 204 persons came from "Post Vesen" (Vincennes); 3 single men, all Americans, from Fort Pitt; and 7, one with a wife and child, from "Galiapolis." Of the 177 other names given during the period, 110 are clearly American; the gap in the lists in 1791-3 makes any general conclusion as to the proportions of the total in the indices impossible.

The first census which has been preserved, dated December 31, 1796, which gives the number of heads of families as 159, is in startling contrast to the total indexed for the earlier period. It seems clear that the indices dealt with heads of families, not

with individuals, and that the census was intended to include the whole district, not simply the village; there is no evidence of an abnormal death rate. Excluding these explanations there remains the possibility that the census of 1796 was unusually incomplete, but an examination of the subsequent census does lead to this conclusion. Probably a partial explanation may be found in the importance of hunting and trading and the consequent transient character of much of the population.

These very unsatisfactory records of newcomers up to 1796 are very fortunately supplemented by Peter Anthony La Forge Syndic of New Madrid, in his report accompanying the census of 1796. (3) La Forge came to the village in 1791. His report is a general account of the first settlement and the progress of the district and its general condition at the date of writing. La Forge states that the largest portion of the families still at New Madrid came in the eighteen months after the arrival of the first commandant, which was late in 1789; perhaps from November 30, 1789, to June 1, 1791, and that the population did not increase under the second commandant, 1791 to 1796. The latter found the inhabitants made up of traders, hunters and boatmen, and as trade was still pretty good for the first two years, there was little agriculture. The success of a few Americans who cleared farms in 1793, and the scarcity of game and the removal of the Indians to the interior turned the Creoles to farming in 1794, but it required the scarcity of 1795 and the coming of more Americans to induce the habitants in 1796 to take up farming in earnest. In 1794 the corn crop was 6000 bushels, in 1795, 10,000 bushels, in 1796, 17,000 bushels, while the population for these years was nearly the same. Of the 159 heads of families in 1796, 53 had no property, i. e., were not engaged in agriculture.

While La Forge is plainly anxious to prove the ill success of the second commandant and to stimulate the third, De Laussus, who had recently taken control, to an encouragement of agriculture, his general description is not inconsistent with the

8. Printed in translation in Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 263-273.

evidence from the oaths. We are to see a large influx of population, much of it permanent, in 1790 and particularly in the first part of 1791, then a large number of newcomers in 1791-93, comparatively few of whom took up permanent residence in the district. By the end of 1796, however, the transition to an agricultural settlement was well under way and a steady increase in population may be expected. A somewhat careful though not exhaustive comparison of the names of families in the census of 1796 and 1797 shows that many names in the former do not occur in the latter, a further evidence of the shifting character of the population. The unusually small proportion of women in 1796,—only 50 per cent of the men were married—is additional evidence. For the years 1796 and 1797 there are preserved the detailed statistical census giving the names of heads of families and much information as to domestic animals and products. The arithmetic of the second census is extraordinarily faulty, practically every column showing an error in addition.

## NEW MADRID DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

Date	Heads of Families		Women	Boys	Girls	Whites	Slaves	Total
	Names	American						
1796 1	159	66	77	116	105	457	42	499
1797 2	197(216)*	117	112(111)	142(139)	118(120)	569(586)	46(45)	615(631)
	Males		Females					
1799 3						757	74	831
1800 4	569		121(421 ?)			690(990?)	116	806(1106?)

## ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1802	Perrin du Lac	-	-	-	-	-	-	1200
	C. O. Robin	-	-	-	-	-	-	1500
1804	Amos Stoddard	-	-	-	-	-	-	1500

\* Correct totals in parenthesis.

1. Scharf, History of St. Louis; I, 87-88.

2. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, 393-397.

3. American State Papers: Miscellaneous; I, 383.

4. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, facsimile.

5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes, 365.

6. Voyage dans L'Interieure de La Louisiane, 88, 206.

7. Sketches of Louisiana, 211.

Two facts are very clear; a large increase in the total white population, apparently 129, 28 per cent, and an increase of Americans which very nearly accounts for the total increase. For the remainder of the Spanish Period we are forced to rely on the general census returns for Upper Louisiana, which do not give names of heads of families or information as to nationality. The increase in white population from 1797 to 1799,

while less striking than in the former year, was considerable (171) and as far as one can judge from the incidental evidence, particularly from the information drawn by Houck from the land grants, was for the most part American. This indeed is true of the increase up to 1804, as far as it represented immigration. The census for 1800, given in fac-simile by Houck, shows a surprising situation; an absolute decrease of 67 in the total white population and only a little more than one-fifth as many females as males. Both conclusions are inconsistent with the earlier and later figures. An examination of the fac-simile shows that the figures for New Madrid are given in a different and less detailed form than those for the other districts, i. e. they are copied from a summary, not from the original returns, thus introducing an additional chance of error. The fac-simile shows also that the figure "4" might very easily be mistaken for the figure "1" by the copyist. Accordingly the emendation of "421" for "121" for the number of females is suggested. Compared with the increases in the other districts for 1800 this does not give an improbable increase for New Madrid; it gives a reasonable proportion for the sexes (569 to 421) and makes the later estimates intelligible. These estimates are, for 1802, 1200 by Perrin du Lac, and 1500 by C. C. Robin. And finally Stoddard (4) states that Little Prairie had 150 inhabitants in 1803 and estimates the population of New Madrid in 1804 (apparently not including Little Prairie) at 1200 plus 150 slaves. His estimate for the district is then somewhat over 150 slaves and somewhat under 1350 whites, a total of about 1500. He states, moreover, that the population is increasing more slowly than in any other district. Admitting the emendation in the report of 1800, which seems inevitable, Stoddard's estimates are conservative and plausible. As to the proportion of Americans, Perrin du Lac states that the majority of the settlers were Americans; Stoddard estimates the proportion at two-thirds. When one considers that at least one-half of the families in 1797 were American, this estimate seems too small rather than too large.

4. *Sketches of Louisiana*, 211.



Evidently slavery as yet played little part in the life of the community. Not only were the totals small but in 1796 and 1797, the only years when the information is given, the number of slave owners was small. The 42 slaves in 1796 were owned by twelve settlers, and 29 of them by five; the 45 (46) in 1797 by fifteen, 33 by six. No statistics are given of free negroes and mulattoes or of mulatto slaves, which figure quite prominently in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

#### Cape Girardeau.

Next above New Madrid as one went up the river was the district of Cape Girardeau, bounded on the south by New Madrid and on the north by Apple Creek, the present northern boundary of Cape Girardeau county. (5) Louis Lorimier, Indian trader and agent, was the chief figure in its early history. After a long and somewhat chequered career on the Maumee and at Vincennes, he came to Upper Louisiana before 1787 with a considerable number of Shawnee and Delaware Indians and settled on Saline Creek in Ste. Genevieve District. In 1793 he was granted permission to settle his Indians in any unoccupied section between the Missouri and the Arkansas, and guaranteed against interference by any local commandant. As early as 1792 Lorimier had removed to the present site of Cape Girardeau, and here he remained with a few assistants throughout the Spanish Period. No village was laid out; it was simply an Indian trading post. The commandant at New Madrid evidently viewed these privileges with jealousy, but was forced to recognize land grants of Lorimier as far west as the St. Francois, and to consent to a definite line of division. Yet it is by no means clear just when Lorimier was given an independent jurisdiction, except as to the Indian trade. Perhaps his appointment was due to the influx of Americans in 1795-96. The original grant of trading privileges was occasioned apparently by the desire to secure the Shawnees and Delawares as an aid against the threatened invasion of George Rogers Clark under French auspices.

5. The discussion of the early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck: Missouri; II, 167-192.

The southern part of Cape Girardeau district falls within the alluvial lowlands characteristic of the New Madrid District and including the Scott County "hills." (6) The remainder of the district is upland, rising somewhat rapidly from the Mississippi and then sloping gradually to meet the foothills of the Ozarks. The creeks draining into the Mississippi are short and rapid, flowing for the most part due east. Much of the larger part of the upland is drained by the Whitewater and a large number of branching creeks which are relatively long and flow southeast or southwest. For twelve or fifteen miles back from the Mississippi the soil is very fertile, perhaps the best of the Ozark border soils; then a very narrow strip of poor soil and again some ten to fifteen miles of good soil. The settlements in the Spanish Period were almost all in these belts in the White Water valley, chiefly in the more level eastern part, in the present Cape Girardeau County, or in the alluvial districts to the south. All authorities agree that with the exception of a few, perhaps not more than a half dozen, for the most part with Lorimier at Cape Girardeau, these settlers were American. "In geological formation, topography, physical constitution, color, origin and fertility, the soils of the greater part of this area (the first or eastern belt) are practically identical with the soils of the limestone belt of the greater part of the great Appalachian valley in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama." In this "The luxuriance of the forest growth was one factor in attracting settlement." (7) Here the Americans developed the form of society typical of the second stage of pioneer life, supported by farming, stock raising and hunting.

By far the greater number of these Americans lived in a compact territory perhaps ten or twelve miles wide stretching northwardly through the centre of the present county to the rougher country of Apple Creek and including the valleys of Randall, Hubble, Cane and Byrd Creeks, all in the White Water watershed. Farther west along the White Water itself

6. For discussion of topography and soil, see Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 198-210.

7. Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 199.

from northern Scott county and particularly in the west central part of Cape Girardeau were a considerable number of Germans and German Swiss, largely from North Carolina, and still farther west at Zalma on the Castor and even sixty miles from the Mississippi at Patterson on the St. Francois in the present Wayne County were small groups of settlers, apparently German. There were Americans also in the alluvial district south of Lorimier's post and some few along the Mississippi north and south. Speaking generally, the great bulk of the Americans came from Tennessee and North Carolina.

The statistics as to population for this district are meagre. Until the first American came in 1795, there were only a half dozen whites at most at the trading post; the considerable American immigration seems to have begun about two years later. In 1798 Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau reported about 30 American families (perhaps 200 inhabitants) in the district and noted that some were thinking of settling on a branch of the St. Francois some twelve leagues inland. (8)

## CAPE GIRARDEAU DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Free	Slave	Total
1799 1			416	105 7		521
1800 2	341	285	626		114 2	740
1803 3	548(550)*	481(483)	1029(1033)		178(179)	1206(1212)

## ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1798 4	Lieu. Gov. Piernas	-	-	-	-	About 30 American Families
1802 5	Perrin du Lac	-	-	-	-	More than 150 American Families
1804 6	Stoddard	-	1470	-	-	"a few" [1650]

\* Correct totals in parenthesis.

1. American State Papers, Miscellaneous; I, 388.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.

3. Id. II, 403-407. This census is given with some corrections in arithmetic in History of Southeast Missouri, 264-266.

4. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-248.

5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes; 364.

6. Sketches of Louisiana; 214.

7. Mulattoes.

8. Negroes.

The census for 1799, 1800 and 1803, show a large and fairly constant increase in white population, fully 200 a year, 1798-1800, and an average of about 135 for the next three years.

8. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-8.

Stoddard (9) gives the table total of 1206 as the population in 1803 and estimates the population in 1804 at 1470 and a few slaves. This would give a total of at least 1650. He states also that the population of this district is increasing more rapidly than that of any other. If one may assume that the transfer of the district to the United States served as a stimulus to this purely American immigration, this large estimated increase of over 425 in 1804 is not improbable. It is reassuring to note that in this case where it is possible to check up Stoddard's positive statements for 1803, he has copied the census returns exactly.

#### Ste. Genevieve.

The oldest permanent settlement in what is now the state of Missouri was at Ste. Genevieve, (10) in the fertile river bottom southeast of the present town. The river began to encroach on the original site as early as 1780, and the unusually high water of 1785 compelled a general removal to the higher land of the present site. The original settlement was simply an expansion of the French Canadian community of the American Bottom across the Mississippi, drawn across the river by the importance of the lead mining in the interior. The date of settlement is uncertain but some evidence points to the presence of settlers as early as 1735. Their location here was determined by the coincidence of extensive bottom lands with the crossing place to the lead mines.

The District of Ste. Genevieve in 1803 was bounded on the north by the Meramec and on the south by Apple Creek, the southern boundary of the present Perry County. The settled portion of the District divided itself naturally into the portion fronting on the Mississippi and draining into it, and the valleys of the St. Francois and the Big Rivers, the "Mineral Region." In the first section, the southern portion, the present Perry county, is for the most part a relatively smooth upland with an excellent soil, well watered, covered with a

9. *Sketches of Louisiana*, 214.

10. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is founded on Houck: *Missouri*; I, 337-367.

hard wood forest. (11) Like the District of Cape Girardeau to the south of which it is topographically a part, it is identical with the limestone districts which attracted the early settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. In this southern portion the settlers were for the most part Americans, coming in in increasing numbers in the last decade of the century, with some French on the Saline Creek and in the extensive Bois Brule bottom in the northwest corner. Farther north in the present county the surface is much rougher and the soil poorer. Here the settlers were to be found in the Mississippi bottoms and on the creeks. Most of them were French, and by far the greater part at the village of Ste. Genevieve. To the north again, in the present Jefferson county, the country gradually becomes more level and the soil better. Here the valleys of the Joachim and Platin creeks were occupied by French and Americans well up to their sources. Finally there was a second American centre of settlement on the Meramec.

West of this section of varying width and agricultural value lies some of the roughest though not the most elevated portions of the Ozark Highland. From a very early date, at least as early as 1720, this section and its lead deposits were known to the French and worked more or less continuously. Here the evidence of the Spanish land grants is of little value as many of them were simply mining concessions. For the most part these miners did not take up land, clear farms and settle permanently, but kept their homes in Ste. Genevieve or across the river. Indeed there is no clear evidence of a permanent French settlement in the interior until late in the nineties. There was, however, a considerable floating population here every year. But scattered through this district of broken country may be found several well defined "pockets" of fairly level and unusually fertile soil. The most important of these are about Mine a Breton or Burton (the present Potosi) the Bellevue and Caledonia valleys some miles to the southward, and about the present Farmington. All of these

11. For discussion of soil and topography, see Marbut: *Soils of the Ozark Region*; 198-209, 235-244.



were occupied by Americans who combined farming with mining just at the end of the century. Moses Austin's settlement at Potosi was the best known, though perhaps not the largest.

The village of Ste. Genevieve was the most typical French settlement in all Upper Louisiana. (12) The houses were strung along the long village street, each surrounded by fruit trees with the barns and vegetable gardens in the rear. The grain was raised in the common fields in the river bottom. Some time in the early nineties a separate village called New Bourbon was established some two miles distant for the refugees from Gallipolis and especially that one of them, the elder Delassus, father of the last Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, might have a distinct jurisdiction. Not very many came from Gallipolis, but New Bourbon grew to a place of more than one hundred inhabitants and included in its jurisdiction the populous American settlement around the present Farmington. There were very few Americans in either village before 1803 and indeed for years afterward. While the agricultural interests were important, the lead mines, the river traffic and the inevitable trade in peltries attracted the younger men and were the more important reasons for the undoubted prosperity of the villages.

## DISTRICT OF ST. GENEVIEVE.

WHITES				COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1745 1	200				10		[300]
1769 2						50 or 60 citizens	
1769 3						60 " 70 habitants	600
1772 4	264	140	404		287		691
1773 5	251	149	400		276		676
1785 6				9*18-10	30*226-256		657
1787 7	259	132	391				826
1788 8							973
1791 9	388	241	629	13*138-26	42*276-318		1002
1795 10	412	275	687	11*90-20	41*254-295		1156
1796 11	499	289	788	14*36-50	88*230-318		1509
1799 12			1061	1*30-4	424		1793 (1792) 15
1800 13	769	557	1326	4*3-7	102*357-459		2570
1804 14			2350		520		

\* Mulattoes.

0 Negroes.

1. Gayarre: Louisiana; II, 28.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; I, 62-63.

3. Id. I, 70-72.

4. Id. I, 63-64.

5. Id. I, 61.

6. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 170.

7. Mo. His. Soc. Archives.

8. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 215.

9. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 365-68, 387.

10. Id. I, 324-25.

11. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 140-43.

12. Amer. State Papers; Misc. I, 383.

13. Houck: Spanish Regime; Facsimile.

14. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 218.

15. Correct total in parenthesis.

12. For an excellent description of the village, see Brackenridge: Recollections of the West; 21.

It must be confessed that these figures are often puzzling and sometimes improbable; it is to be regretted that they do not show in more detail the various centres outside of the villages. If the estimate for the population of "Missouri" in 1745, which must have meant a total population of over 300, is meant for the village of Ste. Genevieve, it is almost certainly excessive. In the first place a settlement of this size would have left some clearer traces in the French records; again, in 1769, after a very large immigration from the American Bottom the official report of Piernas gives only a little over 600. The contemporary evidence gives the impression that until the British occupation of Kaskaskia in 1765, Ste. Genevieve was a rather insignificant place. It is certain that it increased very rapidly immediately after this. Then followed a period until 1788 of at first slight increase and then actual loss in population, the total in 1787 being slightly less than in 1769. As it does not appear that any settlements were transferred to other districts, one is reduced to the alternatives of doubting the only available evidence or assuming a steady drain of emigration. It seems clear that the American Bottom was becoming under Virginia misgovernment a very undesirable place of residence for the creoles, that they were steadily emigrating through this period, so that the loss from Ste. Genevieve was not in this direction. The statistics for St. Louis do not lead one to suspect any such steady emigration in that direction; there is no evidence that at any time there was much migration down the river. The internal evidence of the census reports in general gives the impression of care and thoroughness and the settlements were still confined to the village and near by creeks. If the figures are wrong, it is a little remarkable that all preserved in this period share the error. A large floating population attracted by the lead mines would explain fluctuations in the total, but hardly the steady decrease.

In 1788 there was an increase of over one-third. This would seem to be a clear cut example of the effect of the Northwest Ordinance on the French to the east of the river, but the more detailed statistics of 1791 seem to show that the 1788

increase included a comparatively small number of slaves. From 1788 to 1795 there was another period of almost stable population, followed by five years of steady growth which agrees very well with the scattering information as to the coming of the Americans. Stoddard's figures for 1804 are somewhat startling, but would be too small if the absolute increase of the year 1800 were maintained annually; it must be confessed that the increase seems rather suspicious when compared with that of other districts. If his figures (he himself frankly admits them an estimate based on probable rate of increase) are correct about half the inhabitants of the district in 1804 must have been American.

Ste. Genevieve from the first had a large slave population, over 40 per cent in 1772, but with slight increase until after 1796 and then not at nearly so rapid a rate as the white population. Besides serving as house servants and agricultural laborers in the villages, the slaves were used somewhat in the lead mining. (13)

#### St. Louis.

Unlike Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, the second settlement in point of time, was founded under a definite plan at a definite time; the district also was fairly uniform in natural features and the settlements compact. The boundaries in 1804 were the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Meramec, but the settlements were almost all of them within the present boundaries of the county of St. Louis. This is a level country with the very fertile loess soil, with not very extensive bottoms along the Missouri. A strip some six miles in width on the western

13. The following census returns for the jurisdiction of New Bourbon may be of some interest; with the exception of 1798, these figures are included in the previous table:

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total Population
1786	100	50	150		8 <sup>0</sup>	158
1786	167	99	266	6*2 <sup>0</sup> -8	30*79 <sup>0</sup> -109	383
1798			445	1 <sup>0</sup>	114	461
1799			518	1*1 <sup>0</sup> -2	17*92 <sup>0</sup> -109	560
1800	808	210				530 (529)

1. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; II, 248.

\* Mulattoes.

0. Negroes.

border of the present county is rougher land with a poorer soil and was not occupied during the Spanish period.

The village of St. Louis was founded in February or March, 1764, by Pierre Laclède Liguist as a trading station for the Missouri river fur trade. (14) After 1765 and 1766, however, it became a flourishing village of the ordinary type, for large numbers of the French came over from the American Bottom when the English took possession. At an uncertain date not very much later a second and much smaller village sprang up at St. Ferdinand de Florissant (near the present Florissant) some twelve miles to the northwest, and a hamlet on the Mississippi to the southward, Carondelet, now within the city limits. By 1804 the country fronting on the Missouri was well settled for some miles in depth, there were many settlers in the forks of the Mississippi and the Mississippi and the Meramec valley to the southward was occupied. There were two small outposts on the Missouri, at the present boundary of Washington county and at the present town of Washington in that county. Early in the eighties settlement crossed the Missouri at the present town of St. Charles, but while this must have been included in St. Louis district for a time it is more convenient to discuss it as a separate district from the first. Settlement in the central portion of the present county of St. Louis was retarded because of prairie conditions and lack of timber.

In 1804 St. Louis and Carondelet were still almost exclusively French in population, and Florissant predominantly so. Farther to the westward the Americans increased in numbers; the outposts were exclusively American. This is true also of the Meramec settlements to the southward. As the soil and topography were fairly uniform, the distribution of settlement was determined almost altogether by the water-courses and timber. While the fertility of the soil ensured the agricultural prosperity of the district, the Missouri river fur trade was its most important interest. Probably the great majority of

14. The discussion of early history, settlements and nationalities is based on Houck: *Missouri*; II, 1-78.

the younger men had been at one time or another directly engaged in it, although the Americans, as in all the districts, seem to have paid more attention to agriculture. The location of the seat of government at St. Louis no doubt stimulated settlement and prosperity.

## DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS.

Date	WHITES			COLORED			
	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1764 <sup>1</sup>						about 40	(40)
1766 <sup>2</sup>						several hundred	
1767 <sup>3</sup>						140 families	
1769 <sup>4</sup>						65-90 citizens	
1769 <sup>5</sup>	More citizens but fewer slaves than St. Genevieve						
1770 <sup>6</sup>						about 500	
1772 <sup>7</sup>	248	151	399		198		597
1773 <sup>8</sup>	285	159	444		193		637
1785 <sup>9</sup>							897
1787 <sup>10</sup>	587	309	896	21*12 <sup>o</sup> -33	76*177 <sup>o</sup> -253		1182
1788 <sup>11</sup>							1197
1791 <sup>12</sup>	585	390	975	23*14 <sup>o</sup> -37	75*239 <sup>o</sup> -314		1826
1795 <sup>13</sup>	544	481	975	37*6 <sup>o</sup> -43	97*201 <sup>o</sup> -298		1816
1796 <sup>14</sup>	702	475	1177	34*6 <sup>o</sup> -42	85*218 <sup>o</sup> -303		1622
1799 <sup>15</sup>			1854	55*33 <sup>o</sup> -68	330		2272
1800 <sup>16</sup>	1142	838	1980	58*12 <sup>o</sup> -70	133*284 <sup>o</sup> -417		2467
1804 <sup>17</sup>			2280		500		2780

1. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 20.2. *Ib.* 25.3. *Ib.* 53.4. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; I, 63.5. *Ib.* I, 72-73.6. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 75-76.7. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; I, 53-54.8. *Ib.* I, 61.9. Gayarre: *Louisiana*; III, 170.10. *Mo. Hist. Soc. Archives.*11. Gayarre: *Louisiana*; III, 215.12. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; II, 373-78.13. *Ib.* I, 324-26.14. *Ib.* II, 140-43.

15. Amer. State Papers, Misc.: I, 383.

16. Houck: *Spanish Regime*; II, Facsimile.17. Stoddard: *Sketches of Louisiana*, 221.

The table shows a steady growth of population with three periods of rapid growth. At the end of the first year St. Louis was merely a trading post with forty men, mostly no doubt young and unmarried. Billon after a careful scrutiny of the local records estimated a population two years later of "several hundred"; he stated also that the increase in population after 1766 was relatively slow. (15) As the figures from 1769 to 1773 confirm this statement, it is safe to say that between three and four hundred persons settled in the village in 1765 and 1766, coming for the most part from the French villages across the river. St. Louis became in two years a settlement of considerable size and importance. Then followed a period of twelve years of very slow increase, hardly as much

15. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 75-76.



as one would expect even in a community where at least one-third of the males were necessarily unmarried. From 1786 to 1787 there was an influx of settlers; if one may assume that this came chiefly in the latter year, the Northwest Ordinance may be invoked as the cause. As in Ste. Genevieve there was no such increase in slave population as one would expect if this explanation be correct. It is probable that the second period of exceedingly slow growth, until 1795, may be explained in part by the fact that the settlements across the river were then organized in a separate district of St. Charles. From 1796 to 1800 the population increased rather steadily at the rate of a little over two hundred a year. Unquestionably this represents for the most part an immigration of Americans. If this rate were maintained for the next four years the total in 1804 would be well over 3000; Stoddard's estimate, and he in this case also admitted that it was based on probable rate of increase, seems conservative. It must be remembered that Stoddard was a resident in St. Louis and that the settlements in the district were compact and accessible, so that his opportunities for first hand information were very much greater than in the case of Ste. Genevieve. The fact that the area desirable for settlement was somewhat limited and that the population of the newer district of St. Charles was increasing very rapidly up to 1804 makes a diversion of the American immigration from St. Louis after 1800 very probable. Billon (16) estimated the population of the village of St. Louis at the transfer as 925.

---

16. Billon: *Annals of St. Louis*; 76.

## DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS—SUBDIVISIONS.

WHITES				COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1791	414	270	684	23*14 <sup>0</sup> -37	74*234 <sup>0</sup> -308	1029	St. Louis
	91	62	153		1*2 <sup>0</sup> -3	156	St. Ferdinand
	80	58	138		3 <sup>0</sup> -3	141	(Florissant)
1795	368	268	636	37*6 <sup>0</sup> -43	97*200 <sup>0</sup> -297	976	Carondelet
	76	81	157			157	St. Louis
	100	82	182		1 <sup>0</sup> -1	183	St. Ferdinand
1796	390	261	651	34*8 <sup>0</sup> -42	85*197 <sup>0</sup> -282	975	(Florissant)
	107	71	178		7 <sup>0</sup> -7	185	Carondelet
	102	76	178		3 <sup>0</sup> -3	181	St. Louis
	69	44	113		11 <sup>0</sup> -11	124	Marais des Liards
	34	23	57			57	Meramec
	401	268	669	58*12 <sup>0</sup> -70	116*185 <sup>0</sup> -301	1089 (1040)	St. Louis
1800	148	114	262		5*12 <sup>0</sup> -17	279	St. Ferdinand
	113	76	189		3 <sup>0</sup> -3	192	(Florissant)
	97	76	173		8*27 <sup>0</sup> -35	208	Carondelet
	75	54	129			129	Marais des Liards
	128	104	227		12 <sup>0</sup> -12	237 (239)	Meramec
	185	146	331		4*45 <sup>0</sup> -49	380	Mississippi-Missouri
							St. Andrews

\* Mulattoes.

0. Negroes.

These statistics of the subdivisions of the district of St. Louis would be of more value if it were certain that the boundaries were the same throughout. Clearly the oldest community—St. Louis proper—was very nearly stationary in population from 1791 to 1800, while Carondelet increased very slowly. On the other hand the exclusively American centres of the Meramec and St. Andrews (in the western part of the present county) show a remarkable increase, shared to a considerable degree by Florissant and Marais des Liards (three or four miles west of Florissant), where the two nationalities mingled. The fork of the Missouri and the Mississippi figures so little as a distinct section in Houck's discussion that it is impossible to generalize as to nationalities.

The statistics as to slavery do not call for extensive comment. At all times the great majority of them were owned in St. Louis proper. It is interesting to note that on the Meramec, the older of the American settlements, there were none, while in St. Andrews after two years of settlement in 1800 there were 49. Evidently these later comers were of a somewhat different pioneer type.

### St. Charles.

St. Charles District (17) had in 1804 at once the greatest extent and the smallest population of any of the Districts of Upper Louisiana. It included all of the province north of the Missouri river; even the Spanish grants at Prairie du Chien were nominally within its boundaries. St. Charles again was the oldest of the districts settled after the establishment of the Spanish control. The settlement at the village of St. Charles dated back to about 1780 and to a Canadian trader and his Indian wife. The date of the establishment of the separate district is uncertain. The evidence points to some-time subsequent to 1787 with 1792 as most probable.

The topography and soil (18) of the settled portion of the district, for the most part within the present county of St. Charles, are diversified and determined settlement to a considerable degree. To the east along the Mississippi is a strip of bottom land some four or five miles in width, but too subject to overflow to be suitable for settlement except in the "point" to the southward. The Missouri bottom joins that of the Mississippi at St. Charles village, but is somewhat higher. Above St. Charles the Missouri washes the bluffs except for a few tracts of bottom lands, for the most part at the mouths of the creeks. The Mississippi bottoms are bounded by lower bluffs, the whole county sloping upward toward the north and west. In general, the higher the section the rougher the surface, though little except immediately along the Missouri and the creeks is unfitted for cultivation. The soil of the eastern part of the uplands is a loess similar to St. Louis County, growing more clayey and less desirable toward the west. The smoothest part of the uplands is on the divides between the creeks, but was treeless prairie, and therefore unoccupied until well into the American Period.

The village of St. Charles, situated on the edge of the bottoms, was throughout the Spanish period a French village with

17. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is based on Houck; Missouri; II, 79-102.

18. For soil and topography, see Soil Survey of O'Fallon Area (U. S. Bureau of Soils, 1904.)

two common fields, and peopled largely by French Canadians. While agriculture was of increasing importance, it remained primarily a headquarters for hunters and traders up the Missouri. Very few Americans settled in the village. Another French hamlet was Portage des Sioux, on the point between the Mississippi and the Missouri. There seems to have been some French also on the Dardenne and La Charette, but the great majority of them were in these two villages.

The Americans as usual avoided the villages and took up detached farms. They were particularly numerous on the Dardenne which flows parallel to the Missouri at a distance of some twelve or fourteen miles, and on its tributaries. Here the creek valley was of sufficient width to permit small farms while the wooded upland furnished a range for the stock. The Perruque, the next creek to the north, had a much narrower valley and was sparsely settled. Finally there were a number of Americans on the Cuivre river, some distance inland, on the northern boundary of the present county. The banks of the Missouri above St. Charles were settled to any extent only on two creeks, the Femme Osage and La Charette, the latter just over the line into the present Warren county. In each case the settlements followed the valleys for some miles inland. The Femme Osage settlement was founded by a son of Daniel Boone, was the first Missouri home of the latter and the seat of his authority as Syndic. True to his instinct of following the frontier he later moved to La Charette where he died. These Missouri river settlers were for the most part traders and wanderers; the Americans in the interior seem to have been of the more stable agricultural type. There is evidence of land grants and temporary settlements farther up the Mississippi, on the Salt river especially, but no clear evidence that as yet any permanent settlements had been made among the hostile Indians so far from any protection.

## DISTRICT OF ST. CHARLES.

WHITES				COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total
1787 <sup>1</sup>	53	26	79			79
1791 <sup>2</sup>	164	82	246	4 <sup>40-8</sup>	1 <sup>1-1</sup>	255
1796 <sup>3</sup>	198	139	337		11 <sup>0-11</sup>	348
1799 <sup>4</sup>	257	151	388		7 <sup>10-17</sup>	405
1799 <sup>5</sup>			840		55	895
1800 <sup>6</sup>	584	437	1021		29 <sup>60-89</sup>	1110
1804 <sup>7</sup>			1400		150	1550

\* Mulattoes. 0. Negroes.

1. Mo. Hist. Soc.; Archives.

2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 388-89. A comparison with a copy in the Missouri Historical Society shows that the column headings for Freedmen and Slaves have been transposed in the printing.

3. Ib. I, 324-26.

4. Ib. II, 140-143.

5. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 383.

6. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.

7. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 224.

The table shows the same rapid increase of population just after 1787 already noted in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, followed by a period of much slower growth and then a large and steady increase from 1799—the coming of the Americans. As Stoddard stated that the population was increasing faster in 1804 than in any other district except perhaps Cape Girardeau, his figures “estimated partly by official documents,” seem very conservative. He stated that there were about one hundred houses on the mile-long single street of the village of St. Charles; there were only twenty or twenty-five houses at Portage des Sioux. (19) Stoddard estimated that four-fifths of the inhabitants of the district were Americans. (20) Even from the totals in the census returns this seems rather excessive; the following detailed census for 1800 makes it seem even more so, unless “St. Charles” included considerable territory outside the village proper.

Date	Males	Females	Total	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1800	343	231	574	18 <sup>22-40</sup>	614	St. Charles
	50	49	99	4 <sup>1-4</sup>	103	Portage des Sioux
	89	76	165	5 <sup>12-17</sup>	180(182)	River Cuivre
	102	81	183	2 <sup>26-28</sup>	211	Femme Osage

\* Mulattoes.

0 Negroes.

19. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 223.

20. Ibid.

The small percentage of women and the very small number of slaves until the coming of the Americans seem to emphasize the importance of the Missouri river fur trade in the community. Even at the time of the transfer the percentage of slaves was smaller than in any of the other districts, in rather striking contrast to that of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

The following table gives the more important totals for the last three census which have been preserved complete and Stoddard's estimate:

Date	Whites	Freed-men	Slaves	Total	District
1796	457		42	499	New Madrid
	788	50	318	1156	St. Genevieve
	1177	42	303	1522	St. Louis
	388		17	405	St. Charles
	2810	92	680	3582	Totals for Upper Louisiana
1799	757		74	831	New Madrid
	416	106		521	Cape Girardeau
	1081	4	424	1509	St. Genevieve
	1854	88	330	2272	St. Louis
	840		55	895	St. Charles
1800	6028	197	883	6028	Totals for Upper Louisiana
	690(9907)		116	806(11067)	New Madrid
	626		114	740	Cape Girardeau
	1326	7	459	1792	St. Genevieve
	1980	70	417	2467	St. Louis
1804	1021		89	1110	St. Charles
	5643(59437)	77	1195	6915(72157)	Totals for Upper Louisiana
	1350		150	1500	New Madrid
	1470		"few"	(1650)	Cape Girardeau
	2350		520	2870	St. Genevieve
	2280		500	2780	St. Louis
	1400		150	1550	St. Charles
	9020		1320	(10340)	Stoddard's Totals
	8850		(1500)	(10350)	Totals for Upper Louisiana

As there were 179 slaves in Cape Girardeau by the census of 1803, there must have been at least 180 slaves at the time of Stoddard's estimate. The discrepancies in Stoddard's totals arose from his allowance for traders and trappers.

Stoddard, then, estimated an increase of about fifty per cent from 1800 to 1804, which corresponds very closely to the actual increase as shown by the census returns for 1799 and 1800; in other words his figures are not intrinsically improbable. As we have seen, the estimates by districts do not arouse suspicion except in the case of Ste. Genevieve. It seems, therefore, a safe and conservative statement that the total population of Upper Louisiana at the time of the transfer



was between nine and ten thousand, of which a majority was American and over fifteen per cent slave.

As to distribution, these settlers were to be found along the Mississippi from the present southeast corner of the state to New Madrid, and from the mouth of the Ohio northward to Cape Girardeau. In this lowland district the only important settled area back from the river was the long narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. Americans and French lived side by side in the town and along the river to the southward; the other settlements were for the most part exclusively American. From Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec the strip along the river is rough and relatively undesirable, and was settled only at the mouths of the creeks and along their courses and in the bottoms at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule, in the present Perry County. The settlers were for the most part French except on the more northern creeks. Some miles back on the rolling uplands of the present Cape Girardeau and Perry Counties was a district differing little in natural conditions, inhabitants and social conditions from the typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. This was true to a less degree, because of the lead mines, of the "pockets" of settlement in the mineral region. The lower Meramec again was an American district. Between the Meramec and the Missouri natural conditions are uniform and settlements had sprung up wherever there was water and timber. St. Louis was a French village, while on the Meramec and the Upper Missouri the Americans were in control; over the rest of the district the two races were more or less mingled, the French predominating in the hamlets. North of the Missouri the French were to be found in the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, while the Americans had settled on the creeks flowing into the Missouri and the Mississippi.

As yet, however, the Americans with a few exceptions, notably in New Madrid, were living on detached farms or in small groups, while the villages and the commerce and industry were almost altogether French. In government and politics also the Latin methods and ideals prevailed. Although the numerical majority of the settlers were of American origin, the Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun.

JONAS VILES.

## THE CAPTURE OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781.

### I.

On January 2, 1781, a military force set out from St. Louis to attack the British post of St. Joseph. This was situated upon the St. Joseph River, which flows into the southeastern extremity of Lake Michigan, and appears to have stood near the site of the present town of Niles, in Michigan. (1) The distance to be traversed was, consequently, about 400 miles. (2) There was no British establishment nearer to St. Louis.

The detachment was commanded by the officers of the second militia company of St. Louis (3)—Eugene Pourre, captain, Charles Tayon, ensign, and Louis Chevalier. The last mentioned was given, by Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, the special appointment, for the occasion, of interpreter to the expedition, on account of his familiarity with the languages of the Indians. The sergeants, Louis Honore and Joseph Labuxiere, appear in this position in the roster of the first company, (4) it is not improbable a transfer was made to relieve older men.

---

1. In 1888, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Collections, XI, 115n.2, 178n.5, Thwaites was of opinion that it was "located...a short distance below the present city of South Bend," Indiana. In 1905, however, he had reverted, *France in America*, New York, 1905, p. 290, to the more generally accepted view, of Mason, *Chapters from Illinois history*, Chicago, 1901, p. 299; also Thwaites, *Early westward travels*, I, 117n.85.

2. Thwaites, *France in America*, p. 290. Cruzat to Mico, August 6, 1781, gives the distance as 210 leagues; the *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 12, 1782, as translated by John Jay, says 220 leagues.

3. Houck, *History of Missouri*, Chicago, 1908, II, 42. Formation of 2d company approved. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781. *Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections*, XVIII, 426; same in Houck, *Spanish regime in Missouri*, Chicago, 1909, I, 204. Roster of 2d company, December 20, 1780. Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 186-189.

4. Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 184.

The Indian allies were led by the chiefs El Heturno and Naquiguen, who were, evidently, well known for their hostility to the British. (5)

The force under Pourre's command consisted of 65 militiamen and 60 Indians. The numbers, as might be expected, vary in each different account. Pourre and his officers, in the statement of February 12, (6) say that the detachment was 120 men—the five men who signed the document may not have been included in the total. The Indians of St. Joseph, in making their excuses to De Peyster, the British commander at Detroit, for the failure to protect their traders, said there were "one hundred white people and eighty Indians" (7) in the attacking party, but the occasion demanded some exaggeration. Richard McCarty, a Virginian officer in Illinois, mentions "30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians." (8) McCarty is undoubtedly right in saying that only 50 militiamen went from St. Louis, for Malliet with his forces of a dozen joined the expedition after it had started. (9) But he is wrong in regard to the Indians, for those that accompanied Pourre were likewise added on the Illinois River. (10) McCarty's figures can not be taken to represent the final make-up of the expedition, even if, as is doubtful, he was in a position to obtain the information at first hand.

As outposts to watch the movements of the British and to

5. "El Heturno" is the Spanish rendering of the French "Le Tourneau," his name is also given as Siggenake. The two chiefs are frequently mentioned together, thus in De Peyster's rimed speech, July 4, 1779: "Sly Siggenak and Nankewoin." Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384. They opposed Langlade during the attack on St. Louis in 1780. Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780, no. 6. De Peyster refers to them, in connection with the expedition of 1781. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections, X, 454, as "outcasts of their nations," and "runnagade chiefs." He speaks of Siggenake as "the disaffected Milwaukee chief." De Peyster to Haldimand, May 2, 1779, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 380. Mottin de la Balme noted that "Le Tourneau" at the Illinois River is an important chief." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 588. The Indians who accompanied Mottin de la Balme's expedition, in November, 1780, were led by Siggenake. Houck, History of Missouri, I, 309. For further notes on his career see Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384n53.

6. See below p. 8.

7. Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 453.

8. McCarty to Slaughter, January 27, 1781, Calendar of Virginia state papers, I, 465.

9. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781.

10. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

gain, if possible, the adherence of the Indians, Cruzat had, in November, 1780, placed a force of 40 militiamen under Boucher de Monbreun with the Sac Nation on the Mississippi, and 12 militiamen under Jean Baptiste Malliet on the Illinois River. (11) The latter party being on the line of march was incorporated into the expedition. (12)

The route followed was by the Mississippi to the Illinois River, and up the latter to the vicinity of the present Peoria. Malliet joined Pourre at a place that he designates "*la mauvaise terre sur la riviere des illinois*," where the expedition was on January 9th, a week after its departure. "*Los Pes*," 80 leagues from St. Louis, was reached on the 20th of the month. Thus far they had kept to the water, but from this point, as the river had frozen over, it was necessary to continue the journey on foot. The boats and unnecessary articles were cached, the provisions and ammunition were distributed among the men, and the goods for presents to the Indians were loaded upon a few horses obtained, presumably, in the country. Under such conditions the march of 130 leagues was a serious undertaking. It occupied 20 days, and there could have been little exaggeration in Cruzat's statement that the detachment "*experienced all that can be imagined of cold, peril and hunger*." (13)

Arrived, at nightfall, within two leagues of their destination, Pourre sent off a young Pottawatomie named Lajes to persuade the 200 Indians in St. Joseph—"who were staying at

11. Cruzat to Galvez, November 14, 1780, no. 7. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422, and Houck, Spanish regime, I, 201.

12. Malliet to Cruzat January 9, 1781. On Malliet, over whom there has been much futile discussion, see American state papers, Public lands, III, 476-486; Inhabitants of "the Pees" to Rocheblave, January 26, [1778?], Chicago Historical Society, Collection, IV, 397-398; St. Clair to Washington, Report, March 5th to June 11th, 1790; Smith, St. Clair papers, Cincinnati, 1882, II, 176; Alford Illinois State Historical Library, Collections, II, 230 n.2; Thwaites, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422 n.33.

De Peyster had sent an expedition from St. Joseph against Malliet's settlement at "the Pees" in 1780, but the people had left before its arrival. De Peyster to Haldimand, August 31, 1780, De Peyster to Bolton, October 28, 1780, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X 424, XIX, 578.

13. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

that post for the protection of the traders" (14)—to remain neutral. The assurance that they would receive half of the booty elicited the desired promise. (15) On February 12th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the whole detachment crossed the river on the ice, and had seized the post before the enemy had time to use their weapons. They took prisoner "the famous Dugut" (16) and seven of his engages, apparently the only persons there besides the Indians. These, with an English flag they had with them, were subsequently delivered to Cruzat at St. Louis.

All the goods in the place were divided between the Indians on the expedition and those of St. Joseph; the militiamen were prohibited from taking anything what ever for themselves. Three hundred sacks of corn were destroyed, as well as other provisions which had been accumulated in view of the projected attack on the Mississippi settlements.

During the occupation, which lasted twenty-four hours, the Spanish flag was kept flying; and, with the date of February 12, 1781, (17) Pourre and his officers drew up and signed a formal document taking possession, by right of conquest, in the name of "Sa Magestee tres Catholique le roix Despagne" of the post of St. Joseph and its dependencies, and of the rivers St. Joseph and Illinois.

This accomplished the detachment took its departure, and reached St. Louis again on the 6th of March, without the loss

14. Indian tribes were expected to defend their traders; cf. Sinclair to Powell, June 6, 1781, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 638. After the event the Indians of St. Joseph went to Detroit to exculpate themselves "for having suffered the enemy to carry off their traders," Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist., Soc., Collections, X, 453-455.

15. "Puez el interes es su primer mobil," Cruzat says. "It was the goods and the goods only that made the Miamies and Pottawatimies strike Le Balm and the Creoles," De Peyster to Haldimand, May 27, 1781, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 482.

16. Cruzat to Galvez November 13, 1780, no. 6, reports that he has definite news of the arrival of a Montreal merchant, named Duguet, at St. Joseph, with goods for the purpose of raising the Indians against the Spanish settlements. Maillet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, says "Il ya au fort St. Joseph le sieur Dugue, capitaine, Rhelle, lieutenant, et Campion, ensigne, avec quantite de marchandises." His name, which appears as Du Gay, is not prominent in the correspondence of Sinclair or De Peyster; cf. Mich. Hist. Soc. Collections, XIX, 500; X, 400, 435-436.

17. See below p. 8.

of a single man. (18) On the English side two men, who had attempted to escape, were overtaken by the Indian allies and killed.

The day following the departure of the Spanish force Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre arrived at St. Joseph; he was unable to induce the Indians to go in pursuit, while they "insisted on his conducting them to Detroit"—in the opposite direction." (19)

## II.

This incident of the capture of St. Joseph by the Spaniards found a place in historical literature with the issue of the *Gazeta de Madrid* for March 12, 1782. The statement there published seems to have had some further dissemination for a month later, on April 12, Franklin, then at Passy, wrote to Livingston: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country." On April 28, John Jay sent to Livingston, from Madrid, a copy of the Spanish account with an English translation, "as literal as I can make it." This was printed, in 1821, in the Secret journals of the acts and proceedings of Congress, vol. 4; and, in 1830, in Jared Sparks's Diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution, vol. 8. Franklin's letter appeared in vol. 2 of the same

18. The approval of the King of Spain was communicated by [Joseph de] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 207.

19. Sinclair notified Haldimand, May 29, 1780, "I propose sending a Captain of Militia to St. Joseph's, one to La Ray and one to St. Mary's." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 353-354; Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections XI, 153. Dagneau de Quindre was assigned to St. Joseph. He raised the Pottawatomies after Hamelin's attack on St. Joseph. De Peyster to Haldimand, January 8, 1781; to Powell, January 8, 1781; to Powell March 17 1781; Haldimand to De Peyster April 10, 1781; Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 450-451, XIX, 591-592; XIX, 600-601; X, 465. The credit for this service was afterwards given to Camplon a trader, Sinclair to Mathews, February 23, 1781; to Powell, May 1, 1781; to [Haldimand], May 12, 1781; Mathews to Sinclair, June 1, 1781. Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 629; XIX, 632; X, 460; X, 488. Sinclair was "sorry that Lieut. De Quindre did not attend that post when Mr. Camplon's affairs called him from St. Joseph's" to Michilimackinac.

There was no "English garrison" as Thwaites and others have assumed. Haldimand to Powell, June 23, 1781. "Troops being sent for the protection of one or of a few traders is out of the question." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 642.



collection, and, in 1840, in vol. 9 of his *Works*, edited by Sparks.

From these sources the episode was incorporated into such writings as the *History of Indiana*, by John B. Dillon, 1843, 2d ed., 1859; *Annals of the West*, by James H. Perkins, 1846, various eds. to 1858; and *The pioneer history of Illionis*, by John Reynolds, 1852, reprinted 1887.

Other documents bearing on the subject have been more recently published. The *Calendar of Virginia state papers*, vol. 1, 1875, contained an allusion in the letter written January 27, 1781, by Richard McCarty to Colonel George Slaughter. The *Calendar of the Haldimand Collection*, included in the *Report on Canadian archives*, by Douglas Brymner, 1886, made known the existence of letters between British officers who were cognizant of the event. These letters were published in full in the *Collection of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, vol. 10, 1888, and vol. 19, 1892. Within the last few years one or two Spanish documents have been made public in the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. 18, 1908, and (the same documents) in Louis Houck's *Spanish regime in Missouri*, 1909.

Meanwhile historical writers interested in the Northwest have not overlooked the subject, (20) and on two occasions it has been made the topic of independent studies—Edward G. Mason's "*March of the Spaniards across Illinois*," *Magazine of American History*, vol. 15, 1886, republished in his *Chapters from Illinois history*, 1901; and, C. W. Alvord's "*Conquest of*

20. For example: Poole, W. F. in Winsor's *Narrative and critical history of America*, vol. 6. Boston, 1887. p. 743.  
Hinsdale, B. F. *Old Northwest*. New York, 1888. pp. 173-174.  
Moses, John. *Illinois*, vol. 1. Chicago, 1889. pp. 170-172.  
Roosevelt, Theodore. *The winning of the west*, vol. 2. New York, 1889. p. 179.  
Winsor, Justin. *The westward movement*. Boston, 1897. pp. 188-189.  
Parrish, Randall. *Historic Illinois*. Chicago, 1905. pp. 150-161.  
Thwaites, R. C. *France in America*. New York, 1905. pp. 290-291.  
Van Tyne, C. H. *The American revolution*. New York, 1905. pp. 286-287.  
Alvord, C. W. in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. 2, pp. xcii-xciii, cf. p. 231 n. 2.  
Boggs, A. C. *The settlement of Illinois*. Chicago, 1908. p. 28.  
Houck, Louis. *History of Missouri*, vol. 2. St. Louis, 1908. pp. 42-43.  
Schuyler, R. L. *The transition in Illinois from British to American government*. New York, 1909. pp. 98-99.  
Chadwick, F. E. *The relations of the United States and Spain. Diplomacy*. New York, 1909. pp. 23-24.

St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781," *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 2, 1908.

The account of the expedition given in the present paper is based on the original documents of which the report in the *Gazeta de Madrid* is a condensation, and which are now in the possession of the University of California. They form part of the Pinart-Bancroft collection in the custody of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. The most important of these documents are the letters of Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, and Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781, with the "act of possession" of February 12, 1781, signed by the officers of the expedition.

There have been noticeable divergencies of opinion among historical writers as to the object with which the expedition was undertaken. It is true the Spanish account published in 1782 stated Cruzat's reasons for sending it out, but these have been uniformly ignored. On the other hand, the origin of the venture has been discovered in the inspiration given by the news of the capture of Mobile by Galvez in March, 1780; or in the desire of the Spaniards to be revenged on the English for the attack on St. Louis in May of the same year; it has also been regarded as "a mere plundering foray." These suggestions do not explain, however, the emergency that necessitated a march of eight hundred miles or more in the depth of winter, and they are wholly without the support of documentary evidence.

The more generally accepted opinion is that the expedition was sent out for the purpose of strengthening the Spanish claim to the territory east of the Mississippi." There is evidence which, at first sight, appears to bear out this conclusion.

In the first place, it was the view taken by both Franklin and Jay, who were, respectively, in France and Spain, when the news of the event reached them. Franklin was convinced that the expedition was a result of the policy of the Spanish court "to coop us up within the Allegheny Mountains." (21) Jay wrote Livingston: "When you consider the ostensible

21. Franklin to Livingston, April 12, and August 12, 1782, Wharton, *Revolutionary diplomatic correspondence*, V. 300, 657.

"object of this expedition, the distance of it, the formalities with which the place, the country, and the river were taken possession of in the name of his Catholic majesty, I am persuaded it will not be necessary for me to swell this letter with remarks that would occur to a reader of far less penetration than yourself." (22)

In the second place, the subjugation of the territory had been contemplated. The French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, communicated to Congress, in 1780, "certain articles which his catholic majesty deemed of great importance to the interests of his crown." The fourth of these was: "That the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation [of 1763], are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made during the present war." (23) The conquest was actually made in February, 1781, and formal possession taken of the country.

In the summer of 1782 when Jay discussed the boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States with the Conde de Aranda, the latter objected to the line of the Mississippi River. He argued "that the western country had never belonged to or been claimed as belonging to the ancient colonies. That previous to the last war it had belonged to France, and after its cession to Britain remained a distinct part of her dominions, until, by the conquest of West Florida and certain parts on the Mississippi and Illinois, it came vested in Spain." As M. de Rayneval said, "The question between Spain and the United States of North America [was], how to regulate their respective limits toward the Ohio and the Mississippi." (24)

The conclusion, then, seems almost inevitable that the ex-

22. Jay to Livingston, April 28, 1782, Wharton, op. cit., V, 634.

23. Secret Journals of Congress, IV, 72.

24. Jay to Livingston, November 17, 1782, Wharton, op. cit., VI, 22, 25.

pedition under Pourre was sent out by direction of the Spanish court to subserve the ends of European diplomacy.

If this view is accepted a sufficient reason is found for the mid-winter march, but, on the other hand, the conduct of the Spanish officials in Louisiana and Spain becomes incomprehensible. It must be assumed that Cruzat, after displaying exemplary alertness in sending out the expedition, and while cognizant that important interests were at stake, deliberately waited from March 6 until August 6 before writing his official report. It must be assumed that Galvez allowed two months to elapse before transmitting to Spain, under date of October 26, (25) the information that the project had been successful. And, finally, it must be assumed that the report, upon which the claim to a great territory was based, was in the hands of the court for at least two months (26) more before it was published.

That the Spanish court was responsible neither for the expedition nor for the claims founded upon it, is proved, almost beyond question, by Jay himself. In a report made to Congress, dated August 17, 1786, he says: "[The paragraph in the 'Madrid Gazette'] is the only circumstance or transaction 'which your secretary recollects to have heard while in Spain, 'which induced him to suppose that his catholic majesty 'wished to acquire any lands east of the Mississippi, except 'the Floridas. Neither count de Florida Blanca, nor Mr. 'Gardoqui, who was then employed, nor Mr. Del Campo, ever 'hinted to your secretary that a cession of any territory was 'expected or desired of the United States; all that was then 'insisted upon was our quitting all claim to the navigation of 'the Mississippi below our territories.'" (27)

It was in Paris, however, that La Luzerne received his instructions in regard to the articles he communicated to Con-

25. [Joseph de] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782. (In reply to his letter of October 26, 1781). *Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections*, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 207.

26. The reply is dated January 15, the article appeared in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 12.

27. *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV, 66.

gress, and it was in Paris that Jay heard of the claims to the territory north of the Ohio. There can be little doubt that it was Vergennes and Aranda who contemplated the conquest of these lands in 1780, and who claimed them in 1782, on the basis of a conquest which they could have done nothing to promote. (28)

The expedition was the direct result of information Cruzat had received of active preparations by the English for a second attack on St. Louis in the spring of 1781. The advantage resulting from the success of the expedition, according to the Spanish account of 1782, was that the destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had at St. Joseph, made it impossible for them to execute their plan of attacking St. Louis; and in addition to this the appearance of a Spanish force served to intimidate the Indians in that vicinity, and to oblige them to remain neutral, "which they do at present."

Cruzat's correspondence shows how ominous the English preparations appeared to him. (29) Of the immediate reason for sending out the expedition we are also informed. On July 8, 1780, Sinclair writing to Haldimand, in regard to the failure of the attack on St. Louis in May, continues: "A like disaster can not happen next year, and I can venture to assure your Excellency that one thousand Sioux . . . will be in the field in "April under Wabasha." (30) On December 19, Cruzat writing to Galvez, in regard to the attack planned by the English for 1781, says: "I have news also that the great chief of the Sios "[Sioux] tribe . . . is returning to his tribe from Michely Maki-nak, . . . with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, "not only to arouse his tribe but also those who

28. On the interest shown by Vergennes in the west see Turner, "The policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the period of Washington and Adams," *American historical review*, X, 253-255.

29. Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780, no. 6; November 14, no. 4; November 14, no. 7; December 18; January 18, 1781; December 2, and 19, *Wis. Hist. Soc. Collections*, XVIII, 432-433, 413-415; Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 175, 175-177. Also John Todd, Jr., to Jefferson February 1, 1781; "the Spanish and American Illinois settlements are preparing defensively for heavy attacks," *Calendar of Virginia state papers*, I, 481; *Chic. Hist. Soc., Collection*, IV, 341.

30. Sinclair to Haldimand, Michillmackinac, July 8, 1780, *Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections*, IX, 559.

"are near him. Since this Chief called La Oja [otherwise La Feuille, and Wabasha] exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them." Cruzat here adds, significantly: "Nevertheless, in order to destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform your Lordship after they have been executed." (31) Just two weeks later the detachment of St. Louis militia under Pourre set out to attack the nearest English post, which was St. Joseph.

If anything is wanting to complete the evidence it is supplied by the fact that Cruzat had before him the example of George Rogers Clark who, in 1779, had undertaken a similar march for a similar purpose. On December 17, 1778, Hamilton, lieutenant-governor at Detroit, retook Vincennes from the Virginians. After this success he set about making extensive preparations for an attack on the Illinois settlements in the ensuing spring. To ward off this blow Clark resorted to the bold expedient of leading his men 200 miles across country in mid-winter. He took Vincennes again on February 24. It seems probable that this example had an important influence on Cruzat's determination.

Without valid evidence—which has not yet been brought forward—in disproof of it, the reason for the expedition given in the official Spanish account must necessarily be accepted. In the emergency that confronted him Cruzat took what he believed to be the best measures to protect St. Louis against impending attack.

### III.

To complete this presentation of the subject, another explanation of the origin of the expedition must be noticed, not

31. Cruzat to Galvez, December 19, 1780, *Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections*, XVIII, 413-414; Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 176.



because of its having either merit or probability, but because the author speaks with the prestige of a professor in the University of Illinois.

Professor Alvord says: "It is quite evidence that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their friends who had been sent out by [Mottin] de la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph." (32) He repudiates the Spanish account of the occurrence on the ground that "there is sufficient warrant to suspect the truth of almost every one" of the following points: "First, [that] the expedition was sent out by the Spanish commandant at St. Louis. Second [that] the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, [that] the commanding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, [that] some Englishmen and property were captured. Lastly, [that] the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain." (33)

The testimony upon which Professor Alvord relies to support his contentions consists of the allusion in McCarty's letter to Slaughter, and "a story which was told in Cahokia," and recorded in The pioneer history of Illinois, by John Reynolds, Belleville, Ill., 1852. With these "two bits of information," we are told, "a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account." (34)

The second item is the keystone of Professor Alvord's critical structure, for without the Malliet story it would be difficult to find reason, in the thirty words of McCarty, for rejecting an authentic official document. Concerning this item, Professor Alvord says, quite correctly, "The story . . . is all wrong even to the date, but," he continues, "there are certain significant facts about it. The Spanish co-operation is not mentioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, undertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made

32. Missouri Historical Review II, 210. The opinions of the author are also expressed in the Illinois State Historical Library, Collections II, xcii, xciii; and 231, n. 2.

33. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 197-198.

34. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 207.

"a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Baptiste Mailhet of Peoria." (35)

The tale is too long and outre to quote, but it does not contain a word to justify the assertion that "the expedition was entirely Cahokian." What Reynolds tells is that Malliet set out from Peoria with "about three hundred warriors, white, mixed and red," to avenge the defeat of Thomas Brady, and that "the wounded men of Brady's party were safely returned to Cahokia" (36)—to which place they belonged. Furthermore, Professor Alvord does not acknowledge that the connection of this story with the Spanish expedition is an inference of his own; he ignores the fact that Reynolds gives the official version when he mentions the Spanish expedition on an immediately succeeding page; and he omits the essential information that Malliet (Maye) was in the Spanish service. (37) The "story told in Cahokia" may be dismissed without further consideration.

In regard to his first "bit of information" Professor Alvord says that McCarty, "in writing the news of Cahokia, 'where he was,' provides 'the best account, because unbiased and given in an incidental way.'" (38) It is not by any means certain, however, that McCarty was in Cahokia on January 27, for he was in Kaskaskia, January 17-21, (39) and no mention is made of his return. Neither can it be asserted confidently that any statement of his in regard to the Cahokians was unbiased—they had threatened to drive him out of their town, and he left it under arrest.

There is no inherent improbability, however, in the statement that twenty Cahokians joined the force from St. Louis.

35. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 207. Elsewhere Professor Alvord says: "More errors in the histories of the state may be traced back to his [Reynolds] statements than to any other one source." Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xvii n.2.

36. Reynolds, *Pioneer history of Illinois*, 2d ed. Chicago, 1887. pp. 122-123.

37. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781. Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422; Houck, *Spanish regime*, I, 201. Cited by Alvord, Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 203 n. 25, as "Galvez to Cruzat."

38. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xciii, n.2.

39. Illinois State Hist. Library, Collections, V, 216-217.

40. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, V, 123.

The interests of the inhabitants on the two sides of the river were, in this matter, identical; they would be equally endangered by a British attack, as they had been in the previous spring. On the other hand, it does not seem probable that 250 men, to take McCarty's figures, would have set out to travel eight or nine hundred miles in the depth of winter to revenge themselves for the death of four unnamed individuals. It is not probable that after such exertion they would have been content with the "capture" of eight Canadians, who were subsequently handed over to the commandant of St. Louis. It is entirely improbable, if Professor Alvord is correct, that they would have divided the plunder among the Indians.

So far as Cruzat was concerned the situation was far too grave to admit of sending away, for any but the most urgent reasons, an appreciable part of the military force at his command for the defense, not merely of St. Louis, but of the entire Mississippi Valley. He was confronted, in that winter of 1780, not only with the certainty of an English attack, but with fear of the Illionis settlers making their peace with the English, and even of Clark joining with the latter in an attack on the Spanish dominions.

On September 22, 1780, Cruzat wrote to Galvez: "there is a rumor, although it is not confirmed, (41) that said inhabitants are or were projecting sending a courier to the Strait [Detroit], declaring themselves to be English vassals and begging protection from the Sovereign of the English." (42)

On December 22, 1780, he wrote that there was news of peace between the American colonies and England, and continued: "It is morally certain that, if the Americans should separate from our alliance they will work against us and that then, united with the English of Canada, they can form an expedition in these districts for the conquest of Illinois and all the rest of the colony." (43)

It will not be necessary to examine Professor Alvord's

41. But it was justified, see Bentley to Haldimand, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collection, XIX, 561-562.

42. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 180.

43. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 178.

argument in greater detail, or to make further comment on his historical method. (44)

The only admissible explanation of the expedition is the one given by Cruzat and embodied in the account printed in Madrid in 1782.

Philip Mazzei wrote to Jefferson, February 8, 1780: "I 'have often admired the scrupulous regard paid to truth in the 'Gazette of both Nations [France and Spain], as well at the decency of their expressions.'" (45) That this opinion is not completely shared by American historical students is evident from Professor Alvord's paper. As, however, the history of Spanish activities within the present boundaries of the United States is receiving an ever increasing amount of attention, it is of importance to know whether the documents available for such study are found, in given instances, to be unreliable when tested critically by other evidence. The present examination shows that while the paragraph from the *Gazeta de Madrid*, of March 12, 1782, has been subjected to various forms of criticism, a close investigation leaves its credibility unimpaired.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

---

44. Protest must, however, be entered against his misstatement of fact in disparagement of E. G. Mason's paper, *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, 197.

45. *Calendar of Virginia state papers*, I, 337.

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, BOONVILLE, COOPER  
COUNTY, MISSOURI.

---

MISSOURI AND THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From time to time as the years roll by, it becomes expedient to review the past and from our knowledge and research recite to those around us such information as we have been able to collect, and to that end your historian will strive to remind those of riper years, and instruct the more youthful, in things pertaining to Missouri and The Church. In dealing with this subject justice to other co-workers in the Church-Militant suggests that we briefly refer to them and their credit for work done in furthering the cause of religion, thus serving the two-fold purpose of showing what they did, and also that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always in the van-guard in the march of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

We will aim chiefly to take this Church's growth along with the growth of the State, and thus down to a brief history of Christ Church, Boonville. Missouri became United States property in 1803, when Napoleon sold it to the United States, and in March 1804 the American flag was raised in St. Louis. Prior to this time, the country being under the flags of Spain and France, the Roman Catholics controlled ecclesiastically, and no Protestant Church was allowed. Soon after this purchase, however, a great many Protestants came into the country, but were too scattered to organize, and from about 1804 preachers of different denominations went from place to place and held services, generally in private houses.

We find that in 1806 the Baptists organized Bethel Church, at Cape Girardeau and in 1816 the Presbyterians organized a church in St. Louis. However, the Methodists held services as early as 1807 and the Presbyterians as early as 1813.

In 1819 Rev. John Ward, of Lexington, Kentucky, visited St. Louis and held the first services of the Episcopal Church in a public hall on October 24th. A week later forty-seven persons signed a subscription list pledging themselves to the support of a minister, the list amounting to \$1,714. That was headed by Thomas F. Riddick for \$100. Shortly after this nucleus was pledged, the Parish, now embraced by Christ Church Pro-Cathedral, St. Louis, was organized. It was the third Protestant Church in the State, showing, as we said before, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always forward in the advanced fighting line of the Church-Militant, battling for the right and privilege of spreading the glad tidings of the gospel. In 1829 the first church edifice of the Protestant Episcopal Church was built and in 1840 a second Parish was organized at Boonville.

This brings us to the Diocese of Missouri, with which we will deal very briefly, still showing the growth of the Church in Missouri and the connecting link with the Diocese of West Missouri, of which this Parish was a part until the name was changed to the Diocese of Kansas City. The first Bishop having jurisdiction over this Diocese was the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana. Bishop Kemper thus served the Diocese from 1835 to 1844. After him Kemper College, near St. Louis, the first Episcopal school in the state, was named.

Bishop Kemper was succeeded by Bishop Cicero Stephens Hawks, who was really the first Bishop of Missouri. He was the rector of Christ Church, St. Louis, being also elected to the Bishopric of Missouri. On account, however, of the poverty of the new diocese, he continued his duties as rector of Christ Church, also serving the Diocese as Bishop until his death on April 19th, 1868. Bishop Hawks married Miss Ada Leonard, of Fayette, in the adjoining county of Howard and is thus of local interest. He was succeeded by Bishop Charles F. Robinson, who served the Diocese from 1868 to 1886 in a most acceptable manner. Bishop Robinson was succeeded by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, still the loved and revered Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri.



In 1891, the charge becoming too large and arduous for one man, the new Diocese of West Missouri was organized, the name being afterwards changed to the Diocese of Kansas City, over which our late beloved Bishop E. R. Atwill, was elected to preside, and through the blessing of God labored for over twenty years for our up-building and growth, both physically and spiritually. The Diocese, however, was not long without a spiritual head, for on March 8th, 1911, a Diocesan Convention was held at Kansas City by which Right Reverend Sidney Catlin Partridge, Missionary Bishop of Japan, was unanimously elected as Bishop of the "Diocese of Kansas City." The See City of this Diocese is Kansas City and we will briefly treat of the Church there:

In 1857 Bishop Hawks visited Kansas City and addressed a large congregation. The only Church there was a Missionary Church, or one assisted by the Missionary Board, until 1868. The first clergyman sent to Kansas City was Rev. Joseph I. Corbyn, in November, 1857, who was a brother of our Mr. Almon D. Corbyn, and who preached in this city only a few years ago. In December of that year he organized St. Luke's Church, so named at the special request of Bishop Hawks, and from which the present St. Mary's springs, the name having been changed to St. Mary's.

Easter services of 1858 were held in the court house and there were then only five communicants in the parish. From this small number of communicants as a nucleus we should feel at least encouraged when for 1908 we are able to report in our See City the following Parishes and Missions, mostly strong and influential, battling against the world, the flesh and the devil and spreading the gospel of Christ: St. Mary's, St. Paul's, Trinity, St. Marks. St. Georges, Grace and St. Augustine's and St. John's Missions and Holy Spirit and Grace Unorganized Missions.

---

Time limit will now compel us to abbreviate as much as possible, a local history of this our own ecclesiastical home, the

Diocese of Kansas City, Missouri, and Christ Church, Boonville.

When we remember that in 1840 Christ Church, Boonville, was the only organized Parish in the present Diocese of Kansas City, Lexington having been organized in 1845 and Fayette in 1847, we should review with interest the following brief recital of the present strength of the Diocese. It had in 1909, sixty-seven parishes and organized and unorganized missions, fifty-three priests, deacons and lay-readers, over five thousand communicants, and church edifices of a value of about \$500,000. It had also in 1900, forty Sunday Schools, with two hundred and ninety-eight teachers and two thousand, two hundred and eighty-one pupils. Her contributions for that year amounted to nearly \$60,000. (We use 1900 because we have not the other data at hand.)

---

In Boonville, as in the State, it will be seen that the Episcopal Church is again well abreast of the front rank with the Soldiers of the Cross. The Baptists organized a Church at Concord in this county in May, 1817, but did not organize in Boonville until 1843; the Methodists were here as the Lamine Circuit in 1817 and 1818, but Boonville Circuit was organized as late as 1834; the Presbyterians were at Old Franklin in 1821, but moved to Boonville in 1830, bought their church lot in 1833 and completed their church building in 1841, while this Church, the Episcopal, was here in 1835 and organized in 1840.

---

The records of the Boonville Parish were in some way lost or destroyed during the "War Between the States," and consequently the official history of the Church is not to be found among its archives from 1837 to 1863, the period covered by the lost records. In 1890 your historian was requested by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle to prepare a brief history of this Parish for use at the Jubilee Convention held at Christ Church, St. Louis May 22nd, 1890. We will therefore formulate briefly as connected a history of the Church here as we can, from the links of dates and events gathered from those among

the older members of the Parish then residing here, and from whoever else were able to give us any data, from which to trace the thread of a history of its lineage, or on which to base a connected recital.

This Parish is probably older than the Diocese of Missouri and is certainly only next to Christ Church, St. Louis, in age. The first evidence we have been able to find of the Church at Boonville is when it was a Mission in 1837, though even prior to that, in 1835, occasional services were held. These services were likely held by Rev. F. F. Peak, who in all probability was the pioneer preacher of this Church, and we know he preached and taught here in 1836. Doubtless the nucleus of the church was here for several years before and had its beginning in the work of the following families, whose descendants are still among the Church people of this and other Parishes throughout the State: the Buckners, Perrys, Gillespies, Massies, Megquires, Powells, Mortons, Gardiners, Stocktons, Redmons, Thompsons, Merrills and others, who were active in church work in those early days. Among the constituent members of the first organization were Dr. E. E. Buckner and wife, Richard Thompson and wife, Mrs. Tompkins and C. B. Powell and wife.

Mr. Peak was the first Episcopal minister who ever landed at Boonville, besides probably having preached here in 1835, came here as a Missionary in 1837. He preached while here in what was then the Jefferson House, on the corner of Sixth and High streets, diagonally northwest from the court house. Just how long Mr. Peak remained here is not known, but he was compelled to leave here on account of the ill-health of his wife. His work here probably covered about four years. Rev. F. F. Peak was succeeded by Rev. James D. Mead, who likewise held services in the Jefferson House. Mr. Mead staid here about two years and was also obliged to leave on account of ill-health. He was succeeded in the spring of 1844 by Rev. Almond D. Corbyn, to whom this congregation is doubtless indebted for the present church building, much of which was built with his own hands. When Mr. Corbyn first came to

Boonville he held services in what is today Weland's Carriage Factory. After that he conducted services in a long frame building on the southeast corner of Spring and Main streets, the corner on which the Farmers' Bank now stands. In 1844 Mr. Corbyn was kindly loaned a pipe organ by some one at Jefferson City. In December of that year he got the late Mr. C. F. Ahle to go down and conduct its removal to Boonville, and on Christmas morning of 1844 the first pipe organ ever played in Boonville was heard in "the long frame building" used as a church. Mr. C. F. Ahle then became organist, which position he filled for about twenty-five years. The services are said to have been so well attended that as many heard from the outside as worshipped on the inside. About a year prior to this, Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana, landed at Boonville, being the first Episcopal Bishop who had ever visited the Church.

Soon after Mr. Corbyn took charge an effort was made to build a church, some money having been collected in the Eastern cities by Mr. C. B. Powell, probably over two thousand dollars, but who unfortunately lost it on his way home. The faithful few, however, renewed their efforts and collected sufficient means to make a start. The corner stone of a church was first laid on a lot diagonally across Fourth street from the present building—on the lot now owned by Judge John H. Zollinger, but a flaw having been discovered in the title it was removed to where the church building now stands. The church was finally completed, however, by the untiring efforts of Mr. Corbyn, who toiled and labored on it with his own hands and means until, after many difficulties and discouragements, his zeal and energy were rewarded by success. This church building was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, by Bishop Hawks, in 1845, as near as we have been able to ascertain. The Church flourished under the rectorship of Mr. Corbyn. He succeeded in replacing the borrowed Jefferson City organ, which he returned, with a very good one-bank pipe organ, making also many other improvements in the Church, which afterwards, as a token of love for him and ap-

preciation of his labors, placed to his memory the black marble tablet, still in the wall of this Church. The present rectory was also built by Mr. Corbyn in 1850.

In the meantime Mr. Corbyn married Miss Virginia Teackle Buckner, who, with her children and grandchildren, continued to worship in the temple, the erection of which is so freely accredited to his zeal and energy. Mr. Corbyn remained pastor of the Church until 1852, when he resigned.

Rev. D. Gordon Estes succeeded Mr. Corbyn, but only remained here one year, and in turn was succeeded by Rev. R. E. Terry, in 1853. To Mr. Terry the Church is in a measure indebted for the new organ, which furnished the music of the Church for so many years, and until recently replaced by a much costlier instrument. Mr. Terry also conceived the idea of purchasing and conducting the Adelphi College, which, however, proved a failure, the liabilities falling on a few of the parishioners who came forward and paid them.

Rev. George P. Giddings, who served the Parish for several years, succeeded Mr. Terry. After Mr. Giddings left, the Parish was under the charge of Rev. S. S. Southard, a son of Hon. S. S. Southard, Secretary of the Navy under President John Quincy Adams, who remained but a short time. Mr. Southard was succeeded in 1861 by Rev. Thomas Smith, who likewise remained but a brief period. For the next two years, on account of the unsettled conditions of things, the Parish was virtually vacant, only such services being held as were given by any itinerant or missionary clergyman visiting Boonville. On June 1st, 1863, Rev. F. R. Holman became rector of the Parish, but refusing to "take the oath," he was banished to Canada during the war and in December of that year resigned the rectorship.

Rev. S. G. Callahan then happened to visit Boonville, and being introduced to the Vestry took temporary charge of the Parish. He only preached a few times, when he went to the country, near Bunceon, where he died after being there about eighteen months. Really the Parish never was officially under his charge, so it was vacant at that time and until Feb-

ruary, 1867, when Rev. F. R. Holman again became its rector, and remained about three years, resigning in January, 1870. During his rectorship the Parish increased from thirty-one to ninety-eight, besides confirmed non-communicants amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four members.

Mr. Holmes was succeeded by Rev. George H. Ward, who remained in charge of the Parish until the end of 1874, during whose charge your historian, a Churchman, came to Boonville, making the remainder of this recital personal reminiscences. Rev. Abiel Leonard, afterwards Bishop of Nevada and Utah, then took temporary charge of the Parish until July, 1875, when Rev. George Moore was called, who served the Parish until succeeded by Rev. J. M. Curtis in January, 1876. Rev. Dr. Curtis remained in charge of the Parish until February 20th, 1881. During his stay here he also gave to All Saints Church, Nevada, and Calvary, Sedalia, such services as his local duties would permit of, a memorandum of which work he left in his records here. After Mr. Curtis resigned Rev. Custis P. Jones accepted the charge for six months, his term expiring in July 1882.

Shortly after this the Vestry invited Mr. J. J. Wilkins to read the services, and under license from Bishop Robinson he did so until June, 1884, when he was made a Deacon in this Church. He was then officially called by the Vestry on August 5th, 1884, and remained in charge of this, his first Parish, until January, 1886, when he accepted a call to Sedalia. On May 16th, 1886, a call was extended to Rev. Henry Truro Bray, who took charge in June following, and resigned September 1st, 1888. On October 15th, 1888, Rev. J. M. C. Fulton visited the Parish and on November 12th took charge as rector, which charge he resigned November 1st, 1889. During his time here he also served the Missions at Tipton and Versailles.

For the next six months or more the Church was kept open by lay services by your historian, all credit for his doing so being justly due to the zeal of the late Mr. Fulton. On July 1st, 1890, Rev. Henry Mackey became its rector, and re-



mained such until forced by ill health to give up the active work of the ministry, he resigned this, his last charge, July 1st, 1900, having served the Parish most acceptably for just ten years. After Mr. Mackay's resignation we were again served most acceptably by a layman—Mr. E. A. Sherrod, a student for the orders of the Episcopal ministry, and who afterwards took orders and became rector of the Parish, which he served until 1902.

Mr. Sherrod was succeeded by Rev. Henry L. A. Fick, who came to us from New York and gave the Church good service until 1904, when he, in turn, after another vacancy, was succeeded by Rev. C. R. Stearns, who had charge of the Parish until 1908, when he resigned. In December, 1908, Rev. Silas Cook Walton, an English clergyman of a vast experience and possessed of a most resourceful ability and adaptability in the cause of his Master, took charge, giving the Parish the most untiring service until his death on May 25th, 1910. Since this time the Parish has again been vacant but not without service, as the Church is regularly opened for morning services by one of its three lay-readers, M. E. Schmidt, George T. Irvine or S. W. Ravenel.

It is but justice to these laymen to say that since 1888 the doors of the Church have never been allowed to be closed for want of the services of a rector, as one or the other of these lay readers have been on hand to perform that service, or read the Burial of the Dead at any time that the Parish was without a rector in charge or during the absence of the rector.

S. W. RAVENEL, Senior Warden.



## LIVINGSTON COUNTY, MISSOURI.

A large portion of Central North Missouri has been styled "The Grand River Valley"—a region of great fertility of soil, diversified by numerous water courses, large bodies of timber and prairie, and when its other natural advantages are taken into account, it may well be classed as the equal of any other section of Missouri.

I do not know that the exact limits of what is called "The Grand River Valley" have ever been defined. It may, however, be safely assumed, that the region in question includes all the territory watered by Grand River and its tributary streams, thus embracing the counties of Chariton, Carroll, Linn, Livingston, Caldwell, Daviess, Grundy, Harrison, Mercer and Sullivan, a splendid domain, a magnificent group of counties.

Livingston county occupying a central position among the counties named, was organized pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, in February, 1837. Few persons now, I apprehend, are aware of the close relationship existing between Livingston and Howard counties. In fact, and to use a metaphor, Livingston may well be called the daughter of Howard—"the mother of counties." In an address some years ago, at Huntsville, Missouri, at the annual reunion of the Pioneer Settlers of Randolph and Macon counties, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, the veteran journalist and author of the History of Missouri, made the following statement:

"Take a position on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kaw, now Kansas City, proceed due north to the southern boundary line of Iowa, in truth, several miles beyond that line, into the territory of Iowa, then due east to the high ridge of ground, known as the headwaters of Cedar creek, now forming the boundary line between Boone and Callaway and descend the Cedar to its confluence with the Missouri river, at Jefferson

City, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage river, thence up that crooked stream to a point near Schell City, in Vernon county, then due west to the Kansas line, thence north along that line to the place of beginning; this was Howard county, now comprising 36 counties of the state—22 and a part of 3 others south of the Missouri river and 14 and part of five others north of it—an area of 22,000 square miles—larger than ancient Greece, larger than Saxony and Switzerland combined; larger than Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware and Rhode Island united."

The peculiar topography of Livingston county must have made it a very attractive region for the Indian of the early days. Here was found the ideal of the Indian's hunting ground; with Grand river, having branches heading in the state of Iowa, flowing down in a southern and southeasterly direction, uniting and forming the main river at a point three miles west of Chillicothe, thence flowing on to the southeast corner of the county emptying into the Missouri river, about a mile west of Brunswick, and augmented throughout its course by numerous tributaries, some almost rivers of themselves, and skirted with heavy bodies of timber, covering the bottoms on either side, extending in many instances to the foot of the high prairies and there terminating in dense thickets of brushy growth. Under such favoring conditions, it is easy to conceive that here was a favorite resort for deer, elk and fur bearing animals of the various kinds. Nor should it excite any wonder that it was here the Indian delighted to rove, pitch his tent, establish villages and prosecute his daily hunt for game; such was actually the case, for it is a historical fact, that as late as the year 1828 and for many years prior to that date, a French trading post was maintained, in the south part of Livingston county, on the bluff opposite the mouth of Locust creek and established to trade with the Indians. The Indians furnished their pelts and peltries and other fruits of the chase, and in exchange received from the trader their coveted supplies of tobacco, whiskey, guns, ammunition, blankets, flour, sugar and coffee. About the year 1828, this

post was abandoned, owing to the fact, either that the Indians' source of revenue was fast becoming exhausted, or that preparations were then under way looking to their removal further west, to give way to the advancing tide of civilization. Some years after the post was abandoned and on the same site, the first village in Livingston county was located and went by the name of "Coon Town," afterwards called Granville, where more or less business was done until about the year 1855, the town was abandoned, and its buildings torn down and removed.

Today, a brush thicket occupies the site of the former bustling village, and as the name of "Coon Town" was first adopted by its inhabitants, it may be inferred that at that date, while the larger game had measuredly disappeared in that section, the coon still remained and flourished in the heavily timbered bottoms of Grand river and its tributaries, and thus furnished the basis of a large trade in "coon skins," a commodity then as now, in demand for the manufacture of hats and other uses, and it may be further inferred, that on the wane of the coon the business in that direction languished and finally ceased altogether. In this connection, it may be observed that in the History of Caldwell and Livingston counties published in 1885, it is claimed that Daniel Boone, the illustrious pioneer of Kentucky, after his removal to St. Charles county in this state, and about the year 1800, spent a winter on Grand river, erected his hut or cabin and set his traps for beaver and otter, but, on wandering some miles from his camp he discovered unmistakable signs of the presence of Indians in that locality and a deep snow having fallen, he feared the Indians might discover his place of retreat, and hence remained in his cabin twenty days when a thaw came, releasing his canoe from the ice and thus enabling him to retire in safety down the river on his return to his home in St. Charles county. But the correctness of this statement has been disputed. Some years ago, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, in a letter to the writer hereof, and in reply to an inquiry as to Daniel Boone's alleged presence on Grand river at the time mentioned, uses this

language: "No difference what anybody says, old Daniel Boone never made an excursion up Grand river in 1800 or any other time and never was on the territory now occupied by Boone, Howard or Livingston counties." This statement was corroborated some years ago, by the Hon. Phil E. Chappell, now deceased, once State Treasurer of Missouri and remarkably well informed as to the early history of Missouri.

L. T. COLLIER.

Kansas City, Mo., May 23, 1911.

## MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

---

### Fourth Paper.

---

The following inscriptions are from monuments in the  
Evangelical cemetery at Jefferson City:

- Maragret B. Asel born Nov. 27, 1829, died April 9, 1891.  
John M. Asel born Feb. 27, 1825, died April 2, 1873.  
Barbara Bassman geb. Ott Dec. 4, 1820, gest. March 12, 1907.  
George Bassman geb. Sept. 27, 1822, gest. July 8, 1893.  
Agetha Blank born Dec. 20, 1820, died April 9, 1897.  
Sophia Eva Deeg geb. July 19, 1822, gest. Sept. 16, 1895.  
Ida Hartwig geb. Jens gest. Aug. 3, 1902, alter 70 yr, 10 m, 2 d.  
Susanna Hehenberger geb. July 4, 1817, gest. March 25, 1880.  
Philipp Hess geb. Aug. 17, 1820, gest. March 21, 1895.  
Kath. Hess geb. Dec. 21, 1825, gest. June 16, 1894.  
Friedricke Hundhausen mother of W. H. Morlock, 1812-1894.  
Sophia Jens geb. Fras Sept. 20, 1824, gest. Nov. 25, 1888.  
J. Fried, Jens geb. Oct. 2, 1823, gest. June 21, 1896.  
Elizabeth Kieselbach geb. Feb. 2, 1811, gest. March 5, 1889.  
Johann M. Korn geb. April 1, 1795, gest. April 13, 1879.  
August Kramp geb. Aug. 18, 1818, gest. J— 7, 1886.  
Auguste Krueger geb. Nov. 26, 1828, gest. Jan. 15, 1907.  
Fritz Krueger geb. Nov. 9, 1827, gest. March 16, 1895.  
Maria Meier geb. Jens Oct. 7, 182—, gest. Sept. 5 1881.  
Heinrich Reinke geb. Dec. 26, 1840, Feb. 19, 1901.  
Mette G. Reinke geb. Madsen Sept. 5, 1841, gest. July 14, 1894.  
Henrietta Rieger geb. Wilkens zu Bremen Sept. 13, 1817 gest.  
zu Washington, Mo. May 5, 1885.  
Joseph Rieger Pastor Deutsch. Ev. Gemeinde zu Jeff. City, geb.  
zu Aurach in Baden April 23, 1811, gest. Aug 20, 1869.

- Anna Kath. Rosner geb. Dec. 27, 1809, gest. July 1, 1882.  
 George Russler geb. Nov. 17, 1823, gest. Feb. 25, 1887.  
 Anna H. Sahr geb. Feb. 1, 1823, gest. Feb. 16, 1904.  
 Johann Sahr geb. Jan. 13, 1824, gest. Oct. 16, 1897.  
 John G. Schmidt geb. Sept. 25, 1824, gest. Aug. 14, 1908.  
 Maria Schmidt geb. July 28, 1830, gest. April 29, 1900.  
 Johann Schneider geb. March 31, 1821, gest. March 3, 1891.  
 Margaretha Schneider geb. April 18, 1817, gest. March 13, 1887.  
 Lorenz Seifert geb. May 26, 1833, gest. Jan. 4, 1903. ..  
 Wilhelmine Seifert geb. March 28, 1835, gest. March 5, 1901.  
 Theresia StroebeI geb. Hehenberger, Nov. 6, 1841, gest. Oct. 24,  
 1877.  
 Matth. StroebeI geb. Jan. 2, 1811, gest. Sept. 4, 1868.  
 Anna K. Wagner geb. Wolfrum zu Mussen Bayern April 23,  
 1823, gest. April 3, 1903.  
 George Wagner geb. zu Schwarzach, Bayern, Feb. 13, 1821,  
 gest. Sept. 24, 1895.  
 Johann N. Zahn geb. Nov. 22, 1809, gest. June 3, 1883.

The following are from the Lutheran cemetery at Jefferson City:

- Fredrich W. Albersmeier geb. June 21, 1836, gest. Nov. 21,  
 1867.  
 Pauline F. wife of C. Arnhold born Jan. 28, 1823, Died Dec.  
 15, 1852.  
 Conrad Beck geb. April 30, 1823, gest. June 9, 1892.  
 Clamor A. Brauer geb. Dec. 20, 1824, gest. Aug. 12, 1867.  
 Clara Brauer born Aug. 5, 1824, died March 19, 1906.  
 Katharine Fuchs geb. Heroth Nov. 11, 1800, gest. Jan. 30, 1884.  
 Ludwig Graessle geb. April 1, 1829, gest. Sept. 8, 1873.  
 Thomas von Gruen geb. June 25, 1814, gest. April 5, 1894, und  
 seine gattin  
 Barbara geb. Singer June 25, 1804, gest. Feb. 27, 1894.  
 Johann W. Hager geb. Feb. 8, 1829, in Ahornborg, Bayern,  
 gest. Feb. 3, 1899.

- Barbara M. Hager geb. April 2, 1830, in Walmersreith, Bayern  
gest. June 10, 1900.
- Kunigunda Hensel born April 7, 1819, died April 5, 1901.
- Johan Hoffman geb. March 6, 1822, gest. Nov. 4, 1907.
- Margaretha Hoffman geb. Aug. 16, 1831.
- Hermann Holz geb. 1810, gest. April 8, 1835.
- Johanna M. Krueger geb. April 9, 1821, gest. May 7, 1901.
- Johann C. Max geb. Aug. 15, 1829, gest. Feb. 1, 1901.
- Eva K. Max geb. Nov. 1, 1821, gest. Jan. 25, 1908.
- Karl G. Michael geb. Oct. 16, 1827, gest. Dec. 21, 1906.
- Margaritha Meier geb. April 9, 1790, gest. June 28, 1881.
- J. Ernestine Michael geb. Dec. 6, 1832, Vermaehlt Feb. 20, 1856,  
gest. Dec. 29, 1893.
- Geo. L. Ott geb. June 11, 1813, gest. Dec. 11, 1886.
- Elizabeth Ott geb. Aug. 1, 1816, gest. Jan 15, 1890.
- Ambrosius Rauh geb. zu Markesreith Baiern Feb. 16, 1820, gest.  
June 21, 1903.
- Margaretha Rauh geb. Kiessling aus Weissdorf Aug. 4, 1826,  
gest. Sept. 13, 1897.
- Philip J. Routszonz born May 6, 1803, died Nov. 12, 1854.
- Christian Routzon born March 10, 1771, died Nov. 25, 1852.
- Mary B. wife of Christian Routzon born Aug. 25, 1774, died  
April 7, 1855.
- Johann Schmidt geb. April 29, 1821, gest. Jan. 29, 1887.
- Kunigunda Schmidt geb. Jan. 13, 1820, gest. April 30, 1889.
- Christopher Schneider geb. Sept. 1807, gest. June 7, 1864.
- Valentin Werkman geb. March 30, 1804, gest. Aug. 31, 1864.
- Anna M. Woehrmann geb. Feb. 2, 1809, gest. Feb. 7, 1892.
- Gerhard Woehrmann geb. June 2, 1810, gest. Sept. 24. 1875.
- Elizabeth wife of John Yost died 1865 aged 54 years.
- John Yost died 1876 aged 62 years.
- Christopher Yost died 1869 aged 27 years. Serg. Co. H. 100th  
Pa. Vet. Vols.



## BOOK NOTICES.

---

**The Advance Advocate.** Published by the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employes. Vol. xix, St. Louis, 1910.

This volume uniformly bound with seven others lately presented to the Society by the publishers contains much of interest to the members of the organization whose organ it is; and also much of interest to the general reader. The Society is pleased to have so many of the volumes of this periodical, and hopes for many similar donations.

**Ancient Curious and Famous Wills** by **Virgil M. Harris**, member of the St. Louis bar, Lecturer on Wills in the St. Louis University Institute of Law, trust officer of the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis. Boston, 1911.

This is a work of interest to the legal profession, to Trust Company officials and to lovers of literature.

The book is divided into seven chapters:

- I. Practical Suggestions for Will-Writing.
- II. Ancient Wills.
- III. Wills in Fiction and Poetry.
- IV. Curious Wills, under Five Headings.
- V. Testamentary and Kindred Miscellany.
- VI. Wills of Famous Foreigners.
- VII. Wills of Famous Americans.

The book gives about five hundred wills obtained from various parts of the world from the earliest times to that of Mary Baker Eddy.

Such a work has never before been attempted in America, though in England and in France there are similar productions of high merit. The book is a distinct addition to legal literature, as well as a medium of precedent and aid to Trust

Companies and all who have to do with wills, legacies, and the settlement of estates, and Mr. Harris is to be commended for his exhaustive research and labor.

**Domestic Science, a Text in Cooking and Syllabus in Sewing,** by Gertrude T. Johnson. Second edition. Kansas City, 1911.

This work was prepared for use in the Kansas City elementary schools by one of the teachers of Kansas City, and contains the fundamental theories of foods and their functions, together with more than two hundred receipts. The book is an excellent one for family use, as well as for class work in the schools.

**Missouri Historical Society Collections.** Vol. III, No. 3, 1911.

This number of the publication issued by the historical society in St. Louis has 130 pages of great interest to the Missouri historical students. The society will be fortunate in having a home in the building to be erected in Forest Park by the World's Fair directors.

**Sonnets and Songs** by John Rothensteiner. St. Louis, B. Herder, 1911.

This book of 27 pages of verse, by one of the trustees of this society, and pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, is a welcome addition to eight other publications of the same author in the library of the society.

**Unusual Quotation and Gems of Verse.** Compiled by Mrs. Adele Spalding. St. Louis, n. d.

This is a handsomely printed book of well chosen selections on various subjects, and its possessor will often find it will furnish him the quotation that he may be wanting. The compiler lives at Brookfield, and her book is on sale at the Missouri Store.

**Gems of Thought Gathered Along Life's Pathway.** By Alonzo Thompson. Chicago. Privately printed. 1910.

We have received the above finely printed and bound book of poems by a former Missourian, and more than eighty-two years old, but still loving to make rhymes and indulge in poetic work. The two hundred pages of the book have tributes to arisen friends, thoughts along life's pathway and miscellaneous poems. The author now lives at Bismarek, North Dakota.

**History of Salem Association of Primitive Baptists of Missouri** from the organization in 1827 including the session of 1910. By Elder Ira Turner. St. Joseph. 1911.

The different branches of the Baptist church have been called "Baptist," "Old Baptists," "Particular Baptists," "Regular Baptists," "Primitive Baptists," "Missionary Baptists," "General Baptists," "Free Will Baptists," the above association belonging to the branch generally known as "Regular Baptists." In the early days in this state when the Mission question divided many churches and associations, the Mt. Pleasant Association was organized in 1818, and afterwards divided into the two associations belonging to "Baptist," and the "Regular Baptists," the present yearly meeting being numbered the ninety-fourth by each association. The Salem Association was organized from the Mt. Pleasant Association in the year 1827, Elder Turner traces the history of it each year from that time to the present, and incidentally tells of the points in which the Regular Baptist Church differs from the larger body, and claims that the entire body of Baptists originally held the same doctrines that are now held by this body which takes a prefix to designate this organization, and he evidently thinks that it should have been the present larger Baptist body, that should be known by the prefix name instead of its being to the one to which the above Association belongs.

**General History of Macon County, Missouri.** Chicago. Henry Taylor & Company. 1910.

The above short title page is somewhat in contrast to the

prevailing style in the county histories of years ago, which approached in their fullness a table of contents.

The foreword commences with a quotation from Macauley, that will bear repetition very frequently till it is firmly fixed in the minds of the citizen:—"A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered by remote descendants."

The history of the county seems to be presented in a well arranged plan, giving in 270 pages of the work the early pioneer times, and their contests with the Indians, the courts, the press, the schools, the churches and other matters making up the history of the county.

The remaining part of the 945 pages are the biographical part of the work. This part like the other is of much value, and will hereafter be in constant use by the biographer and genealogist, and by all who are interested in the men and women who made the early history of one of the large counties of the State.

**Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Missouri, "1910 Red Book,"** Jefferson City, n. d.

The above is a volume of more than 700 pages, a great mass of information about the State. Part V of the book has also been issued as a separate under the title "Miscellaneous Information, Missouri, 1909-10."

In this is an account of Ha Ha Tonka, the former Gunter Spring, of Camden county, of which Bayard Taylor said, "I have traveled all over the world, to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery human eye ever beheld." Dr. Jenney, of the United States Geological Survey, spent some days there photographing, and said that while he had spent much of his life in the mountains, he had never before found a neighborhood that would furnish so many fine photographic views. The editor of the Review is pleased to have many of these views which he saw taken by Dr. Jenney.

**General History of Shelby County, Missouri.** Chicago.

Henry Taylor & Company. 1911. Henry Taylor, Jr. W. H. Bingham.

This is the second one of the new style county histories of Missouri, for which two we are indebted to Mr. Bingham of the publishing firm.

The 671 pages of the work include the general history and the biographical history of the county in a very satisfactory manner.

## NOTES.

---

Ho. Alonzo Tubbs calls our attention to an error in Prof. Hodder's paper at page 141 of the April number of the Review in which he referred to the killing of a son of John B. C. Lucas in a duel, and gave his name as Benton Lucas, instead of Charles Lucas, his correct name.

In the Missouri Historical Review for January, 1908, there was an interesting paper on Rev. Jesse Walker, the Apostle of the Wilderness, by Rev. J. Spencer, of Slater, Missouri, in which it was shown that Rev. Walker was the first organizer of the Methodist church in St. Louis and also in Chicago, and that he was the first Presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in Illinois. The Rock River Conference of the Methodist Church is now about to erect a monument over his grave at Plainfield, Illinois, eight miles west of Joliet. It will be of Barre granite, will weigh seven tons, and have a suitable bronze tablet. The famous Rev. Peter Cartwright received his license to preach from Jesse Walker.

Among the publications made at the last session of the General Assembly are two publications of the report of a special committee in both of which the title of the commissioner is given different from that which the law gives him. However, in the body of the report the title is given correctly, and the mistake is in the title page of the report.

An organization of the patriotic societies and the Historical Society of Kansas City has been made to provide for properly marking, with a monument, the site of the Battle of Westport.

A letter received by the editor of the Review from one of our members, Homer Calkins, editor of "The Pacific Transcript," at Pacific, Missouri, has several matters of interest, and some of compliment to the Review. The paper on the Mormon troubles in Missouri gave him new, and he thinks correct information in regard to the history of those troubles that did not redound to the credit of the state. Mr. Calkins tells of a company raised in Franklin county for the Mormon "war," that has no record in the Adjutant General's office, nor in any of publications relating to Franklin county. His informant was David P. Wood, who was an old resident and remembered playing with the Indian boys in the early days.

The young men of the county organized a company of horsemen, to drill, and in order to improve the condition of the Company, they organized as a cavalry company. When the Mormon flurry came on this Company was ordered to the seat of trouble, and in Jefferson City was reviewed by Governor Boggs. They resumed their march, but on the morning of the second day a courier overtook the Company with an order from the governor recalling them as the troubles had been settled.

If there was such a Company, and Corporal Wood claimed to have been one of it, there should be an effort made to get definite information about it.



## NECROLOGY.

---

GEN. ANDREW J. BAKER died at Centerville, Iowa, April 23, 1911, aged 79 years. He served as Attorney General both in Iowa and in Missouri, in the latter from 1870 to 1872.

DANIEL BARTLETT was born at Boonville, Missouri, in 1801, under Spanish rule. For a short time afterwards his native place was under French rule, and at the time of his death he was living under the third flag without having left the limits of the present state. Mr. Bartlett moved to Sedalia twenty-nine years ago, and died there March 21, 1911, probably the oldest man in the state.

JAMES R. CLAIBORNE died in St. Louis, April 22, 1911. He was born in Franklin county, Virginia, and served in the Confederate army as colonel of the 37th Virginia Regiment. At the close of the war he came to St. Louis, and was twice Prosecuting Attorney, was judge of the Court of Criminal Correction, and was Senator in the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth General Assemblies. At one time he was a candidate for the nomination of Governor on the Democratic ticket.

HON. EPHRAIM W. DAVIS, born in Tennessee, April 2, 1829, and a resident of Laclede county, Missouri, since 1839, died at his home ten miles south of Lebanon, April 30, 1911. In 1872 he was elected a judge of the County Court, and again in 1880; he was then elected a member of the House in the Missouri Legislature for the Thirty-first General Assembly.

DR. NOAH MILLER GLATTFELTER, of St. Louis, a well known Missouri author, died at his home in St. Louis, April 2d, of injuries received by a fall from a ladder, while re-

pairing a fence in his garden. He was a noted botanist in the specialties of willow trees and mushrooms, and has published papers on them. He also compiled the "Record of Casper Glattfelter and his descendants, St. Louis, 1901," this family to which he belonged having come to America in 1570. He was 73 years old, and the funeral was under the direction of Ransom Post, G. A. R.

REV. E. J. HUNT, District Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Carthage District, a member of this Society and a Missouri author, died in Carthage, Missouri, March 10, 1911, 58 years of age. He was pastor in Sedalia for two years, and for six years was presiding elder of the Sedalia District.

HON. JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT was born in Marion county, Kentucky, August 29, 1830. He studied law and in 1850 came to Memphis, Missouri, where he practiced law. In 1858 he was a member of the House in the Twentieth General Assembly. This he resigned in 1858 for an appointment as Attorney General, vice E. B. Ewing, resigned, and in 1860 he was elected for the next term. On declining to take the oath of allegiance he was removed from office by the ordinance of 1861. In April, 1862, he returned to Kentucky, where he afterwards lived. In 1867 and 1869 he was elected to the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, and in 1875 to the Forty-fourth Congress, and reelected to the three following. He became noted as a humorist and satirist. His speech in opposition to a grant to a railroad to Duluth, which place he termed the "arctic zenith of the unsalted seas," has become an English classic. From 1883 to 1887 he was Governor of Kentucky. He died at his home in Lebanon, Kentucky, June 18, 1911.

HON. JOSIAH E. MELLETTE, of Springfield, Missouri, where he died March 25, 1910, was born in Henry county, Indiana, September 28, 1848, and graduated from the State Uni-

versity of Indiana in 1872. He was admitted to the bar in Muncie, Indiana, and elected prosecuting attorney of the county, and after two terms was elected to the state legislature of Indiana. In 1893 he came to Missouri, and in 1904 was elected mayor of Springfield. He stood high at the bar of Springfield, and frequently acted as special judge.

REV. C. F. PHILLIPS was born in Coshocton county, Ohio, December 25, 1844, and at the age of 17 he enlisted in the Fifty-first Ohio, and afterwards was for fourteen months in Andersonville prison. In 1866 he married and came to Missouri, and in 1876 was admitted to the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, and has been pastor in many of the towns of North Missouri. In 1905 he was elected Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of Missouri. He died in Princeton, Missouri, February 6, 1911, and the last General Assembly of Missouri adopted resolutions showing the appreciation in which he was held.

REV. JOSEPH RUSSELL, who was Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of 1903, died at Lutesville, Missouri, April 8, 1911, aged 73 years. He was a native of Tennessee.





